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352
826

Editor's Notes 1

A Redefinition of Provincial Administration—The Northern Nigerian Approach *by A. H. M. Kirk-Greene* 5

Institutional Training in Africa (i) The Institutes *by R. E. Wraith* 27

Local Government Training in England *by Dudley Lofts* 38

Training for Local Government in the United States *by Hugh G. MacNiven* 43

Local Government Reorganization in Isoko District, Zambia *by W. J. S. Hudson* 47

Development of Local Government in Rural Areas in the Gambia *by M. H. Orde* 51

Quarterly Notes 60

Book Reviews 66

Other Books Received 75

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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

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JOURNAL OF
LOCAL ADMINISTRATION
OVERSEAS

Volume IV · Number 1 · January 1965

Editor's Notes

THERE IS a small but steady and important demand from overseas countries for experienced British local government staff to assist in local administration, principally in urban areas, until the time when qualified and experienced local officers become available.

In this issue in the Quarterly Notes is given a report of a Working Party which has been studying the problem how best to meet this demand. The report identifies the difficulties of this type of recruitment, and among the suggestions for assisting such recruitment is the commendation that 'town twinning' be encouraged as one means of international co-operation.

An explanation of the meaning of 'town twinning' is to be found in a pamphlet published in 1963 by the Joint Twinning Committee of the English Local Authority Associations.[1] Though this relates to twinning between towns in Britain and in Europe experience gained in this limited area is of value when considering the application of the idea to the wider field of the world. For this reason readers may be interested to hear how the concept of twinning is translated into practice, and to judge whether it might be of use to help in their problems resulting from shortage of local government staff, or to assist their development plans. What follows is taken largely from the pamphlet mentioned above. This pamphlet was written to give guidance to authorities who had expressed an interest in the possibility of twinning, to let them know what would be likely to be expected of them and to suggest the ways in which they might obtain the most value from a twinning link.

The movement of bringing together communities in Britain and their counterparts, mostly in Europe began about 1950. Originally association was mainly on the level of courtesy visits but subsequently it became recognized as important in more practical ways. Whilst nothing but good can come from the interchange between communities of ideas of mutual experience or interest, it was quickly seen that to be really successful there must be something more practical; there must be an exchange of visits capable of leading on to the creation of means of assistance, in for example, training, or in providing accommodation and hospitality to students and even possibly to the forging of links of a commercial or financial nature. The personal touch is important

[1] Obtainable from the Association of Municipal Corporations, Victoria Station House, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, England.

in all human relationships, especially where there are activities such as secondment of officers or training of students between one town and another.

The initial choice of town with which to twin, about which more will be said in a later issue of this Journal, has been found to determine to a considerable extent the degree of success of the venture. Factors of importance in Europe when making the choice are historical association, size, cultural and economic interests. Experience suggests that the large industrial town should find a like partner abroad rather than seek to link with a country market town; university towns have an obvious affinity and historical commercial association is a firm foundation for friendship. Some towns in the past have attempted to associate with a number of authorities but it has been found far better to have no more than one or two strong, effective links which have the support and enthusiasm of the man in the street and to arrange objectives in which he can take an active part.

Once the initial contacts have been made between two communities the link is strengthened by an exchange visit of civic heads and leading officials, by small civic parties and in some cases by formal twinning oaths and the preparation of charters to mark the association. But the entire concept is likely to fail if it rests on superficial gestures such as these. The aim therefore is to give pleasure, interest and particularly material benefit to the people on both sides and to create among them the enthusiasm for strengthening the bonds.

To achieve this it has proved effective for the local authority in each of the twinned towns to appoint an *ad hoc* committee representative of the authority and various organizations covering the educational, social, cultural and business life of the area to bring together and co-ordinate the various activities which can be undertaken in those spheres so as to make the link a living thing.

Quick and convenient contact between those of similar interest is essential. For this purpose it has been found best, once the twinning arrangements have been made, to bypass formal official channels and to work through liaison officers appointed by each town's committee. The liaison officers then act in the field for which they have responsibility as the direct link between the twin towns and the local organizations concerned with a particular activity; this is especially useful as not all organizations likely to be involved can be represented on the *ad hoc* committee. The liaison officers, of course, will serve on the committee. By way of example, whilst the town clerk is the obvious liaison officer for all general matters within the sphere of local government, the director of education might deal with exchange visits of school children, usually one of the more popular activities. As the liaison officer for this purpose, he will communicate with the corresponding liaison officer in the twin town, and in his own town will maintain contact with the schools from which the children making the visit are likely to come. Some other officer might assume responsibility for dealing with enquiries concerning exchange visits between adults of the two towns. The museum director might be the liaison officer for all cultural societies and miscellaneous organizations, and amateur sport is invariably a firm base from which to launch out.

Members of the Rotary movement are usually very willing to establish links with their counterparts overseas. The secretary of the local chamber of commerce is the obvious choice for liaison officer to deal with matters connected with the industrial and commercial life of the town, and the trade unions, through the local trades council, could be represented on the committee by their liaison officer. If there is a university, its representatives normally have a useful contri-

bution to make and are invaluable when it comes to such matters as providing interpreters on the occasion of exchange visits.

However many organizations can be encouraged to take an active interest and however much the work may be divided amongst liaison officers, it is of the utmost importance that the town clerk (who will also be the secretary of the co-ordinating committee) be kept fully informed of all arrangements made. If this is done, a pattern will be established which can be followed on both sides and there will be no danger of commitments not being fulfilled. It will be also possible to co-ordinate activities to the greater advantage of all who participate.

The success of twinning arrangements depends so much upon the interest and enthusiasm of the private individual that the co-operation of the local Press is essential. Thus it has often been the practice to co-opt the editors of local newspapers on to the committee as members in their own right instead of leaving them to depend upon press releases as in the case of normal council business. Furthermore, it is through the medium of the Press and their national agencies that many small items of news and information comes to be published concerning events in the other town which might otherwise be lost. The Central Office of Information are keenly interested in this work and their regional officers give every assistance both in disseminating information and, in certain cases, arranging for film coverage of any aspects of twinning which have more than a limited local appeal.

Following the initial meeting of the *ad hoc* co-ordinating committee, the members would normally have to confer with the organizations which they represent to stimulate ideas and discussion before submitting the proposals which their organizations have to offer. At that stage the town clerk, acting as the co-ordinator, can collate the results and then pass on to the twin town not merely the names of the appropriate liaison officers but also the practical proposals which have been put forward for strengthening the link between those with common interests. Examples of successful activities likely to be of interest to other towns with twinning links are circulated by the local authority associations who comprise the Joint Twinning Committee, notably by the Association of Municipal Corporations in their monthly publication "The Municipal Review".

Once the framework of the twinning arrangements has been established initially, the members of the various organizations may by their own efforts be able to finance the means of travel between the two localities and deal with the problem of accommodation. In so far as the local authority is able to assist, however, by the provision of grounds or accommodation for particular events, it must be willing to give all possible help.

By these means interest is stimulated among towns and districts which have not yet established links abroad and their readers will realize that a solution to the international problems arising between country and country in the world in political, economic and social affairs is not the sole prerogative of the central government. The authority must not, however, blind itself to the problems with which it will be faced in seeking to make a success of any twinning arrangement. Initially, the townspeople may not see the value of the proposed arrangements and distance, in particular with its financial implications, will inevitably limit direct contact to a small minority. But this is no reason to cast gloom and despondency over the project: films, television, concerts and football matches can all help in the common purpose. Where there is direct contact, the results will not be confined to those who participate. The experiences of those

who are able to make this direct contact will be passed to many others and, with the passing, there will have been communicated something of the goodwill which surrounds all twinning arrangements. Enthusiasm and good organization will be required on both sides but the reward will be in the establishment of new friendships and a better understanding of people and their problems, and above all practical social or economic benefits not confined to local government alone.

Mr. Arthur Creech Jones

Our readers will have heard with regret of the death of Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, who throughout a distinguished political career always took a great interest in overseas administration and economic development.

He will be remembered particularly for his encouragement of the study and development of representative local government overseas. He was largely responsible for founding this Journal's predecessor "The Journal of African Administration", in 1949 and maintained his interest in it and in our Cambridge conferences to the end.

A Redefinition of Provincial Administration

The Northern Nigerian Approach

by A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

The need for a revision of the role of the Provincial Administration, for a redefinition and redirection of the traditional functions of the District Officer, is not simply a consequence of self-government. Forty years ago Lord Lugard gave the question consideration, however passing, in his political testament *The Dual Mandate* while a decade later, at the very zenith of the star of indirect rule, the classic conundrum was posed by Margery Perham in her *Native Administration in Nigeria:*

> There is, however, one branch into which I believe, Africans should not enter, and that is the Administrative Service. This should aim at being increasingly advisory in its functions. It should be regarded as the temporary scaffolding round the growing structure of native self-government. African energies should be incorporated into the structure; to build them into the scaffolding would be to create a vested interest which would make its demolition at the appropriate time very difficult.[1]

The need for change

Nevertheless, it is true that in most newly independent African countries the need to rethink the rationale of the provincial administration has received an urgent impetus from the advent of self-government and that nearly all of them have embarked upon some reorientation.[2] Thus Tanganyika has made three separate services out of its district commissionerships, with different officers appointed for the work of lay magistracy, of local government supervision, and of the *boma* office administration.[3] ". . . The pressures to change the inherited system of local administration", wrote the Editor of this *Journal* recently, "have been stronger in Africa than in Asia where it has deeper roots".[4] Ghana abolished and then brought back its district commissioners, this time as political posts distinct from those of its government agents. In the Sudan, the district commissioner's responsibilities for land administration, central government revenue and tax assessment on business profits have been transferred to local councils to administer on an agency basis for Government, while that of settling tribal disputes has been handed over to native courts: the Ministry of the Interior found itself no longer needing to retain any district

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[1] Margery Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria*, 1937, repr. 1962, p. 361.

[2] Though Africa is the focus of this paper, that similar re-thinking has been done in Asia was clear in the papers presented at the Seminar on Comparative Administration held at Boston University, Massachusetts, U.S.A., in July, 1963. See also H. Maddick, "The Present and Future Role of the Collector", *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. II, April, 1963.

[3] See W. J. Warrell-Bowring, "The Reorganization of the Administration in Tanganyika", *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. II, October, 1963; and John B. George, "How Stable is Tanganyika?", *Africa Report*, March, 1963.

[4] *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. II, October, 1963, editorial.

administrators and the administrative service was abolished.[5] In Uganda, a similar diminution and redistribution of the district commissioner's duties was recommended, completely taking away the whole of his traditional and fundamental responsibilities *vis-à-vis* local government bodies.[6] All the Regions of Nigeria[7] have, like Sierra Leone,[8] now replaced civil servants with politicians to be in charge of their provinces. Western Nigeria saw the promotion of efficient local government as one of the most important duties of the provincial administration and to this end replaced the title of District Officer with Divisional Adviser,[9] while Eastern Nigeria has laid stress on the leadership role of the new provincial administrative officer in the total field of community development.[10]

The forms that this rethinking and redefinition have taken may not always be the same, but the reasons behind such changes are characterized by a marked uniformity.[11] One has been the desire to show the people that independence means something more than a local officer replacing the expatriate as the district officer: it means, in fact, that the district officer can no longer symbolize 'Government' to the people, rather is 'Government' the popularly elected legislature. Another has been the recognition that the colonial provincial administration was primarily an administration of law and order, whereas today what independent countries want above all is an administration geared to economic development and to the raising of social standards. A third has been the gradual acknowledgement that the day of the general administrator with a wide mandate is giving way to the need for the administrative officer with specialist skills, whether in finance, legal, economic or community development.[12] In many areas the political party machine is assuming the basic 'general weal of the people' and 'complaints' responsibilities of the colonial district officer. In this connection, too, with emergency-trained district officers of sub-university qualifications, the native treasurer and the native court judge have often had better specialized training than the young district officer, whose contribution of financial and legal guidance – sometimes the only thing desired of the district officer by the bigger native administrations – has thus been seriously reduced. Yet another has been the question whether, in order to achieve national advance, the mobilization of manpower resources may not after all demand the merging of the identity of the traditionally neutral civil

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[5] C. A. G. Wallis, "Local Administration in the Sudan", *J.A.A.*, Vol. XIII, July, 1961, for an excellent analysis of the Provincial Administration Act, 1960; and the *Report of the Commission on co-ordination between the Central and Local Government*, Khartoum, 1960.

[6] *Report of the Uganda Relationships Commission*, Kampala, 1961, especially Chapter 19, "Provincial and District Administration".

[7] Eastern Nigeria in 1959; Northern Nigeria in 1962; and Western Nigeria in 1964.

[8] After this article was written the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone reorganized the system of Ministers in the field. He has brought into Freetown the only Minister left in charge of a Province (the other two posts were vacant). The Minister of the Interior, whose position is thus made more important, will have direct responsibility for provincial administration. Presumably the experiment of "provincial" Ministers, introduced just after Independence, is over and Sierra Leone, unlike Ghana and Nigeria, is to have no politicians in charge of administration in the field.

[9] *The Duties and Functions of Administrative Officers in the Western Region of Nigeria*, W.R. Sessional Paper, No. 1 of 1955.

[10] *Policy for Community Development*, Eastern Region Official Document No. 27 of 1963.

[11] On a larger canvas, attention is drawn to an unpublished paper by S. S. Richardson, Director of the Institute of Administration at Zaria, presented to the Comparative Administration Seminar at Boston University, 1963, "Decolonisation and the District Officer".

[12] The poles in training philosophies have been described in A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, "Career and Consultant: New Elements in African Studies", *J.A.A.*, Vol. XIII, October, 1961, p. 226.

servant with the common aspirations of the party (single,[13] *bien entendu*) so as to attain the maximum co-operation of skills and execution in programme fulfilment. This philosophy is, for instance, evident in President Nyerere's statement that "Civil servants are human beings, they do have political views and this must affect their work . . . We cannot afford the luxury of administrators who are neutral",[14] and again in President Nkrumah's call to the people of Ghana after the 1964 constitutional referendum:

> Like the Party itself, we expect Parliament to be composed of farmers and workers, artisans, factory workers, teachers, technicians, engineers, managers, intellectuals and university professors, doctors, members of the Civil Service . . . in short, people from every sector of our public life . . . Above all, we must entrust the organs of the State to those upon whom we can rely to carry out our purposes and policies in accordance with our aims and aspirations. We shall see to it that the Civil Service, our public boards and corporations and State enterprises, and all other agencies of our Government, are operated by honest and dedicated men and women.[15]

A fifth impetus to change has been the doubt whether the local district officer can maintain the olympian aloofness sometimes ascribed to his alien predecessor, which for all its vulnerability at least had the supreme merit of allowing him to withdraw (physically by his residence as well as socially by his mores) from local pressures and politics and to maintain a hopefully incorruptible objectivity in his administration. Attempts to inherit this tradition by local district officers have resulted in accusations of un-African snobbery and unwanted elitism,[16] or else in the native administration quietly bypassing the district officer – regardless of whether he has been a local man or a remnant expatriate – and approaching their elected Members of Parliament direct, with a resultant antagonism against and lack of confidence in the district officer.

Northern Nigeria, despite its proudly avowed policy of gradualism in local administration affairs,[17] has not failed to perceive the need for a change in its provincial administration. The new system of provincial commissioners, striking enough to produce the headline of "Northern Nigerian Revolution" in a non-alarmist journal,[18] was introduced in 1962. The purpose of this

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[13] I am grateful to Dr. John A. Ballard, of the University of Ife, for drawing my attention to two recent analyses of single-party systems which may not yet be widely known this side of the Atlantic: Ruth Schachter, "Single-Party Systems in West Africa", American Political Science Review, June, 1961; and Martin Kilson, "Authoritarian and Single-Party Tendencies in African Politics", *World Politics*, January, 1963; Gwendolen M. Carter, *African One-Party States* has already established itself.

[14] Quoted in *The Observer* (London), 3rd June, 1962. Cf. Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 1963, p. 89.

[15] *Ghana Today*, 12th February, 1964.

[16] Cf. S. S. Richardson, *The Evolving Public Service in Africa* (Wisconsin University, 1964, pp. 3-4: "It is comparatively easy for a foreigner to hold an official position in an overseas territory without local involvement. Conversely, it is absolutely impossible for an African official to occupy a post in his own country without local involvement simply because he is an African citizen and therefore must get to grips with his own people in a relationship entirely different from that of the foreigner whom he has replaced"; and *passim*.

[17] The pragmatic gradualism of the North has seldom been better expressed than in the Premier's speech in the House of Assembly in July, 1952, moving the motion of acceptance of the report of the Select Committee on Local Administration. The speech is quoted in full in his autobiography, *My Life*, 1962, pp. 79-81. It is again the theme of the several speeches made on the occasions of the Royal Visits of 1956, 1959 and 1960.

[18] *West Africa*, 24th March, 1962.

paper[19] is to review the history of the Provincial Authority and Provincial Commissioner idea and to examine its progress after its trial period of two years.

The history of provincial delegation

In 1952 a first attempt was made to spell out for the Provincial Administration of Northern Nigeria its new role under an elected system of government. In the event, this simply restated principles which rested more in pre-political 1947 than in the introduction of a ministerial government, and its dicta were quickly overtaken by events. Its philosophy is best expressed in this extract from the directive *Duties of a District Officer in Northern Nigeria:*

> The Resident of a province is, within that province, the principal executive officer of Government and is personally and directly responsible to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council for the peace, tranquillity and good order of the province and for the efficient execution of all public business which is being carried on within it. The District Officer within the area of the division has similar responsibilities . . . The District Officer now has two principal tasks: firstly, as the local representative and agent of the Government, he is required to co-ordinate all its activities; to see that the ideas of technical experts are adapted to local conditions and, as Dr. Marshall puts it in his report on local government in the Sudan "to deal in a common sense way with the needs of the 'people' and ensure that a comprehensive view is taken of human problems." Secondly, "he is the medium through which local government is to be made a living force" and it is he who must develop representative local institutions, train the members of those institutions in their work, and educate the people in their public responsibilities.[20]

Provincial authorities

The real major proposal for redefinition and redirection of the provincial administration came in 1956 when a commission was appointed to consider the devolution of powers from the Regional Government to the twelve provinces of Northern Region of Nigeria.[21] This proposal originated from an important policy statement made by the Government to the House of Assembly:

> It has for some time been the view of the North Regional Government that, as the peoples of the North advance, politically, socially and economically, each one of the twelve provinces of the Region must, within the general framework of Government's policy, be empowered to exercise a greater measure of control over its own affairs in accordance with its own customs, traditions and aspirations. It is now the intention of the Regional Government to bring into being provincial authorities with defined powers. These provincial authorities, which will be the general instrument of Regional policy, are not intended to derogate from the status and authority within their own borders of the native authority councils. They will, in fact,

[19] The research for this paper was made possible by the generous co-operation of the offices of the Premier and the Minister for Local Government in Kaduna, who invited me to undertake this project and made available certain of their policy files. I am particularly indebted to Mr. J. H. Smith and Malam Liman Ciroma, Deputy Secretaries to the Premier, and Mr. G. V. Summerhayes, Senior Assistant Secretary in the Ministry for Local Government, for the help they so kindly rendered, and to the Government of Northern Nigeria for their permission to publish this piece of research.

[20] *Duties of the Administrative Officer in Northern Nigeria*, Kaduna, 1952, p. 7.

[21] The 13th Province, Sardauna, was formed in 1961, after the second United Nations plebiscite, from the former Trust Territory areas.

co-ordinate native authority activities and serve as a link between the native authorities of each province and the Regional Government.[22]

Known today as the Hudson Commission, after the name of its chairman, it sought primarily, in the words of its terms of reference, "to advise how best a measure of authority can be devolved in provincial authorities so as to provide an effective and acceptable link between the Regional Government and the native authorities", having regard to Nigeria's widely differing customs and traditional systems of local government. Only secondarily did the Commission concern itself with a revisionary role of the provincial administration.

In a synopsis of this nature, it may be useful to researchers if I complete the detailed documentation assembled in this paper by recording the guide-lines of this major attempt to reorientate the provincial administration in Northern Nigeria. The following desiderata were postulated:[23]

(*a*) To maintain the unitary character of the Northern Region within a federal structure.

(*b*) To ensure that provincial arrangements fit in with a ministerial system at the regional level.

(*c*) To ensure that any provincial authority included representation of chiefs and native authorities, and was designed to preserve the native authorities and local councils as an essential part of the government.

(*d*) To provide for adequate popular representation on provincial councils and provincial authorities.

(*e*) To ensure that the provincial structure, while based on common principles, was flexible enough to meet divergent conditions found in different provinces.

(*f*) The least possible disturbance to the existing administrative arrangements, compatible with changing social and political conditions.

(*g*) To avoid possible causes of friction between the provincial bodies and Regional Government on the one hand, and native authorities on the other.

(*h*) To give provincial bodies the maximum financial responsibility compatible with ultimate Regional Government control.

(*i*) To preserve familiar means of raising revenue and to avoid complications where possible, yet allowing the provincial bodies to have responsibility for initiating new revenue-raising measures to provide new or improved services.

(*j*) To avoid a complex provincial structure involving the employment of additional administrative staff and heavy administrative expenditure.

(*k*) To ensure that staff employed on provincial services were subject to undivided provincial control.

In outline, the recommendations were that in each province there should be set up by law, and entrenched in the Constitution, an arm of government called a provincial administration. This would consist of a provincial council and a provincial authority, the latter under the chairmanship of an official of the Regional Government. The provincial councils would be deliberative as well as consultative bodies, with defined powers and duties, including powers to pass provincial estimates, to initiate the raising of revenue, to make by-laws, and to give advice on draft bills and other matters referred by the Regional Government. Members would have the right to debate motions and to ask questions

[22] Speech by the Governor to the House of Assembly, 29th February, 1956.
[23] *Provincial Authorities* (Hudson Report), Kaduna, 1957, pp. 9-10.

on subjects within the competence of provincial administrations. These councils would be representative of the chiefs, native authorities and people.

The Provincial Authorities were to be small executive bodies acting collectively, charged with the execution of provincial policy as approved by the provincial councils, to which they were answerable within the defined sphere of powers allocated to them by the Regional Government. They were also subject to Regional policy and to overriding control by the Regional Government. The Provincial Administrator, as chairman-executive of the provincial authority, was responsible for the implementation of its decisions by the provincial staff. All main elements in the Provincial Council would be represented on the Provincial Authority.

For a number of reasons the recommendations on the establishment of provincial authorities were, despite their acceptance in a White Paper,[24] put into cold-storage. Three are worth noting here. The reason most relevant to our theme in this paper is the misgivings that existed over the role of the powerful office of Provincial Administrator. Against the recommendations that this chairman of the provincial authority should continue to be the Resident was the feeling that the post should not be held by a government official at all but by a chief. He alone would be in a position to put forward the native authority's view, which might not always coincide with government policy particularly if, as some of the larger emirates suspected, the whole question of the relationship between the Government and the Native Authorities would soon be reviewed.[25] Secondly, to put this scheme into effect would need a large administrative staff at the very time when the provincial administration cadre had up to 25 per cent. of its established posts vacant. Thirdly, an assumption fundamental to the Hudson proposals was that the quality of native administration staff was getting better and better, but in fact the reverse was the case: Government was attracting away a very high proportion of the better native authority officials under its vigorous scheme to northernize the civil service, and the number of secondary schoolboys opting for service with their native administration was negligible.

Subsequent chronology

The series of landmarks between the Hudson Commission of 1956 and the introduction of the Provincial Administration Law of 1962 may conveniently be recorded before turning to an examination of the Law itself.

The publication of the report *Provincial Authorities* was followed by the 1957 White Paper *Preliminary Statement of the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria on the Report of the Commission appointed to advise the Government on the Devolution of Powers to Provinces*. At the 1958 Constitutional discussions held in London, the conference noted that although the Minorities Commission[26] had not recommended the recognition of any minority area in the North, the Regional Government nevertheless intended to establish some kind of council with elected members as a first step towards a provincial organization.[27] Hopefully, the

[24] *Preliminary Statement of the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria on the Report of the Commissioner appointed to advise the Government on Devolution of Powers to Provinces*, Kaduna, 1957.

[25] It was – in no uncertain terms. See the firm stand taken by Government in its *Declaration by the Government of the Northern Region on its Relations with Native Authorities*, 1957; and the minatory speech by the Premier in the House of Assembly, 11th March, 1957.

[26] *Nigeria: Report of the commision appointed to enquire into the fears of the minorities and the measures of allaying them*, 1959 (Willink).

[27] *Report by the Resumed Nigeria Constitutional Conference*, 1958, para. 54.

committees would be joint native administrative committees. This was followed by a further indication of the Northern Nigeria Government's awareness of the need to think out the new shape of the provincial administration when it appointed a select but high-powered committee under Sir Rex Niven to consider the future role of the administrative service in the North. Its terms of reference give a sufficient idea of the importance of the committee:

(i) (*a*) their role as agents of the Regional Government;
(*b*) their relationship to the Regional Government and the Native Administration in their area;
(*c*) their role in purely local government;
(*d*) their responsibilities for the administration of Justice in regard to the Customary Courts and Islamic Courts; and to removing their powers of Review;
(*e*) their disposition, whether to concentrate them in centres or disperse them in Divisions;
(*f*) their designation, whether to change the terms 'Resident' and 'District' Officer and if so, to what other terms.

(ii) The relationship of the Regional Government to the Native Administrations.

(iii) The adequacy, in a self-governing Region, of the Native Authority Law and all other Regional Laws affecting the Native Administration; and

(iv) The most efficient channels of communication between the Regional Ministries and the Native Administration, having regard to–
(A) minimising delays; and
(B) ensuring the maximum co-ordination in the application of the policies of the Regional Government.

No report was ever published, to the chagrin particularly of those intimately concerned with the training of Northern administrative officers who were anxiously looking for guidance on how they might break away from the temptation merely to turn out Nigerian district officers in their own mould.

In 1959 a law was passed providing for the establishment of Provincial Councils.[28] Such councils had existed in some provinces for ten years or more, but they had lacked legal status. Their general recognition had been advocated in the Hudson report, with a membership made up of chiefs, native authority representatives, elected members and government nominated members. The new councils now created were granted powers to debate and make recommendations on any matter brought before them or referred to them by the Minister; but with nothing more substantial than deliberative and consultative powers, their enthusiasm and effectiveness have been limited. Instruments and electoral regulations for individual councils and model standing orders followed,[29] and subsequent amendments were made to the composition of the Provincial Councils before the inaugural meetings were held at the beginning of 1962.[30] Under the 1960 (Independence Constitution), provision was made for the

[28] N.R. No. 9 of 1959, *The Provincial Councils Law.*

[29] *Provincial Council Standing Orders* in English and Hausa were issued by the Ministry for Local Government in 1960. A typical Provincial Council Instrument is that of Adamawa Province (N.R.L.N. 70 of 1960) published in the *Northern Region Gazette* of 30th June, 1960. The succeeding Northern Region Legal Notice (No. 71 of 1960), gives typical Provincial Council Electorcal Regulations.

[30] The twelve original Instruments are to be found in the following Northern Region Legal Notices of 1960: 29, 31, 33, 46, 48, 50, 52, 56, 58, 70, 73 and 107. N.R.L.N. 72 amended No. 46. In all cases the Electoral Regulations were published simultaneously.

establishment, at the discretion of the Governor, of a Provincial Administration comprising a Provincial Administrator, a Provincial Authority, and a Provincial Council.[31] During the following year the vigorous reforms carried out in the legal and judicial spheres during the past two years made it possible to remove the district officer's judicial functions and hand them over to a trained and reorganized judiciary.[32]

The Provincial Administration Law, 1962

This Law "to provide for changes in the administration of provinces and matters ancillary thereto" came into effect on the 15th September, 1962.[33] In substance, it provided for a transfer of powers from a civil servant (the Resident) to a political appointee (the Provincial Commissioner) vested with ministerial status but without cabinet rank. The senior administrative officer in the province is now known as the Provincial Secretary, whose relationship with the Provincial Commissioner "shall be similar to that existing between a Minister . . . and [his] Permanent Secretary". Powers formerly vested in the Resident, such as those of review of native court cases and those delegated under the Personal Tax or Education Laws, are vested in the Provincial Commissioner. The latter may, however, depute any of the powers with which he has been vested to any administrative officer in his province or to any other public officer.[34] Apart from listing powers of delegation and function exercisable, the sting of this very short Law comes in its final section:

> The Premier may, through a Provincial Commissioner, or, where the office of such Provincial Commissioner is for any reason vacant, through the Provincial Secretary, direct a native authority to carry out any of the functions vested in it by any written law or by native law and custom, *and the native authority shall comply with such direction.*[35]

In moving its second reading, the Premier noted that Ministries would delegate some of their powers to the Provincial Commissioners. He added that these men would be posted to anywhere except their own provinces[36] (a practice followed in the provincial administration ever since the first Northern Assistant District Officer was posted to the field in 1956).[37] All the 13 provincial commissioners had previous political and administrative experience, and six of them had been junior ministers at the parliamentary secretary level in the current Government. Their average age was 41, the oldest being 52 and the youngest 30. Summarising the bill, the Premier concluded:

> Ever since the attainment of Regional Self-Government in 1959, and particularly since Independence was achieved, my Government has been giving careful consideration to the proper place which the Provincial Administration should occupy in the affairs of the Region. The other two Regions made some changes in their Provincial system and as a result mistakes were made which had to be rectified and indeed are still being rectified in some cases. As in our custom, we have avoided precipitate action.

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[31] The Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1960, Third Schedule, Section 73.
[32] For an account of this see S. S. Richardson, "Training for Penal Reform in Northern Nigeria", *J.A.A.*, Vol. XIII, January, 1961.
[33] *The Provincial Administration Law*, No. 2 of 1962.
[34] Typical notices of delegation are to be found in *Northern Nigeria Gazette*, 14th February, 1963, Legal Notices, No. 29-59.
[35] Section 9 of the Provincial Administration Law, 1962. Italics are added.
[36] In the event, one of the 13 was posted to his own Province (Benue).
[37] In March, 1964 the second Administrative Officer found himself posted to his own Province.

The old system has served us well and we are grateful for the work done by the Provincial Administration in the early days and in the days leading up to Self-Government and to Independence. However, the time has now come for a change in order to evolve a system of Provincial Administration more in keeping with the constitutional changes of the last few years, and which is geared to present day problems.[38]

It may be noted that one member of the House of Chiefs, expressing the implicit chiefly dislike of the earlier Hudson recommendations, welcomed the appointment of provincial commissioners on the grounds that it would enhance the prestige of the native administrations[39] – though section 9 of the Law quoted above has potentially precisely the opposite effect!

Though it was decided that the provincial commissioners should not be members of the Regional Executive Council, they were summoned to a special meeting of the Cabinet just before they took up appointment. Their spokesman expressed collective gratitude to the Government for the confidence placed in them, reaffirmed their loyalty, and promised to seek co-operation from all officials, chiefs and the public within their provinces in the hope that they might become the Premier's "true breed in the provinces". In reply, the Premier noted that they would be far from the capital but looked to their loyalty to overcome the dangers of distance.[40]

Finally in this section, it is necessary to invite attention to the parallel 1959 legislation in Eastern Nigeria.[41] This is largely concerned with the establishment of Provincial Assemblies, "consultative and deliberative". Part II, however, contains instructions for the introduction of a system of provincial administration "for the purpose of achieving efficient execution of government policy in each province and for securing satisfactory discharge of the duties and responsibilities of the division and counties within each province". These comprise a provincial secretary, senior officers of regional ministries, and the administrative officer in charge of each division. The administrative officer is charged with responsibility for the maintenance of order and good government in his division. In case of conflict between directives of the Provincial Commissioner and of a Minister to a Provincial Secretary, that of the Minister is held to prevail.[42]

Administrative and political issues

The considerations for and against the establishment of a system to politicize the provincial administration have been argued in academic seminars and in the reports written by the several commissions appointed to examine such schemes. In the Northern Nigerian context, the 1956 Speech from the Throne and the closely reasoned Hudson report are a valued preliminary; but since the subsequent introduction of the Provincial Commissioner system six years later was in many ways a new approach rather than just an extension of the Hudson proposals, and since no report *qua* report was ever published before this new administrative system was implemented, it is necessary to summarize

[38] *Debates: House of Assembly*, Kaduna, March, 1962.
[39] *Debates: House of Chiefs*, Kaduna, April, 1962.
[40] *Northern Nigeria Ministry of Information Press Releases*, Nos. 3295 and 3294 of 1962.
[41] Eastern Region Law, No. 18 of 1959, *The Provincial Administration Law*.
[42] Just after this article was completed the Western Region passed into a law a bill (No. 4 of 1964) to establish a similar Provincial Administration. No details of the number of commissionerships, etc. are available at the time of going to press, but its main provisions are quoted in Appendix 'C'.

the major principles that were uppermost in the minds of thinking politicians and administrators aware of the need for a redefinition of the traditional form of provincial administration and which may have guided the recommendations of the steering committee. These thoughts, which are an amalgamation of wide personal discussions[43] but not an official résumé of principles, may be conveniently presented in the form of a balance-sheet, and may, *mutatis mutandis*, be applicable in the generality to other nations facing the same problems of provincial administration at the time of political transition.

(A) *Arguments for politicization of the provincial administrative system* (*but not the cadres*)

1. It offers an unambiguous sign of the shift from colonial rule to self-government: independence must not only be achieved but must be seen to have been achieved.

2. It allows a popularly elected government not only to exercise political control right down to the provincial level but also to permit the electorate to see who really exercises that administrative control, i.e. no longer the Resident and District Officer but the Ministers.

3. The availability of another dozen senior patronage appointments in the way of Provincial Commissionerships could be a useful tool in the delicate task of trying to maintain political balance and stability in a region as diffuse, remote and heterogeneous as Northern Nigeria.

4. In the crucial manpower situation of the Region, it could allow Government to appoint elderly and senior men, long practised in administration and rich in experience gained in native administrations or politics, at a time when sufficiently mature civil servants were quite unavailable to fill the Permanent Secretary and Deputy grades in the Ministries, let alone a dozen key provincial Residentships. Furthermore it would allow the few top-class Northern civil servants then to hand to go to the Ministries and assume control there from their retiring expatriate colleagues.

5. A political Government might, such being the nature of politics, prefer to rely on the assessment of local events as seen through the eyes of its local political representatives rather than those of a *soi-disant* neutralist administrator. Adequate analogy is found in the way that in the early days an administrative Government had preferred the judgement of its own agents to those of native authorities and political parties.

6. The Provincial Commissioner could fill the important post of chairman of the Provincial Council, a post that was clearly going to be a thorny political issue locally.

7. Was the new-type Northern administrative officer able,[44] on social rather than intellectual grounds, to fill the would-be uninvolved advisory role of the Resident as entrenched in the policy of indirect rule in the classical emirates?[45]

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[43] One of the most interesting was an unsolicited memorandum by one of the 'flyer' Northern residents, today (despite his youth), a Permanent Secrteary.

[44] For an account of this training programme see A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, "A Training Course for Northern Nigerian Administration Officers", *J.A.A.*, Vol. XI, April, 1959, and his *How Northern Nigeria Trains Its Administrative Officers*, Kaduna, 1960.

[45] Though 'indirect rule' had been replaced by 'indirect administration' in the mid-'thirties and by 'local government' in 1947 (see R. F. Robinson's article on the terminology in *J.A.A.*, Vol. II, July, 1950, pp. 12-14), its quintessential spirit of the advisory role of the District Officer persisted right down to the post-independence change-over to that of executive agent of the Regional Government discernible in current trends.

was he able to make a genuine contribution to the technical arguments of the Ministries' professional officers, often better trained than he? And even if he was, was the supra-role of general administrative (as opposed to political) control still wanted?

8. The politicization of the provincial administration machinery would allow Government to scotch the possibility, fortunately diminished, of any dangerous talk of fissiparous moves and secessionist parties, and to mobilize and weld the people, with their overwhelming support of the elected government, into the party motto of "one North"?

9. With the passing of indirect rule and the coming of independence, national development may well call for something nearer the nature of direct rule, with its concomitants of a tougher line towards local lethargy, a rejection of local *laissez-faire*, and an end to the *non possumus* attitude towards the bigger or recalcitrant native authorities.

(B) *Possible arguments against the politicization of the provincial administration*

1. The high cost of a dozen new appointments of ministerial rank might sit ill alongside a national call for austerity.

2. Would the powerful emirs, supported in their influence by both the British doctrine of indirect rule and the subsequent Northern elected government, accept the overlordship of an alien (in the sense of his being 'extra-emirate') politician?

3. What would be the reaction of a group of able and ambitious indigenous administrators disappointed by a scheme that abolished the prestigious career-goal of a Residentship, already held by three Northerners and virtually within the grasp of another ten?

4. With the cry for the creation of more states a feature of the political scene, might not a provincial commissioner lead minor secessionist movements in his far-flung province, in the same way as had occurred in the history of the Fulani empire a century earlier?[46]

5. Would a political appointee, aware of the vogue of political self-advancement at the national level and refusal to submit to the party whip, necessarily be more loyal to Government than a civil servant with his career at stake?

6. What harm would be done to the efficiency of the administrative structure in a system where the top post might go to a man not by virtue of civil service merits but in response to political pressures and claims for area-patronage distribution?

7. Could a person from the same province avoid coming under the thumb of a strong chief? If extra-provincial assignments were insisted on, would a far Northern emirate accept a riverain politician as its Provincial Commissioner?[47]

8. What chance of justice through administrative appeal against political persecution would there be when the channel led to the top administrator who was already overtly committed to his party?

Certain other general considerations were of interest. In a region the size of Northern Nigeria (280,000 sq. miles carrying a population of 29 million) it was

[46] E.g. the Rei revolt against Modibbo Adama (A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, *Adamawa Past and Present*, 1958) and the Zaria flouting of Sokoto authority (M. G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, 1960).

[47] The compromise arrived at was that Commissioners should be posted to similar but not their own areas, i.e. Yoruba men were posted to the Yoruba provinces and 'far Northern' Moslems to 'far Northern' provinces. Thus a Zaria man is Commissioner in Sokoto, a Sokoto man in Kano, a Kabba man in Ilorin, an Ilorin man in Kabba, etc.

to be expected that there would be advocates of the scheme for regrouping the 13 provinces into three or four Areas, each under an Area Commissioner. Morel had proposed this for Nigeria fifty years earlier;[48] Tanganyika was shortly to do this by substituting Area Commissioners for Provincial Commissioners and then, like Eastern Nigeria in 1959, increasing the number of Areas to provide devolution and foster local self-government. Again, there was talk of a pilot scheme in selected provinces, as was done in 1963 with the new system of local education authorities, rather than effect a wholesale change-over.[49]

Inevitably much thought was given to nomenclature. Up to 1962 the North had shown a certain tenacious acceptance of the title of Resident, but it could be argued that after the shift from indirect rule to local government the rank had remained an anachronism. If it now went out, should the North follow the Western Nigerian pattern of abolishing the traditional hierarchy of the provincial administration and adopting Divisional Adviser or Local Government Inspector? Should the Provincial Administration then come under the Ministry for Local Government as primarily an inspectorate? What of the title of Prefect, since the new political system lent itself to a workable analogy with the Prefectures of France and Italy? What of District Agent or Superintendent in lieu of District Officer, so as to emphasize the representative nature of the provincial administration as the arm of control government? Or was the word *di'o* (D.O.), like *en'e* (N.A.), so entrenched in the Hausa language that it had become institutionalized?[50] In the event, a compromise solution was evolved. Resident gave way to Provincial Commissioner with a new civil service post of Provincial Secretary as his chief executive. This latter was largely given to promoted Class II Administrative Officers (Senior District Officers) while most of the Class I (Resident) holders were transferred to Ministries. The post ranks with that of a Permanent Secretary to a junior Ministry. Furthermore, the promotion rank of Senior District Officer has been retained along with the office of Divisional Officer and the rank of Assistant District Officer.

Administrative changes

Although the Provincial Commissioners did not take up their appointment until early in October, 1962, a number of administrative changes were brought into effect from 15th September. The Residency now became the Commissioner's Lodge, and the senior administrative officer removed to the house previously occupied by the Senior District Officer. No longer was the newly-styled Provincial Secretary entitled to fly a flag on his car. Routine government business continued as before, save that on major policy matters letters now open with "I am directed by the Provincial Commissioner . . .". As the senior government *officer* in the province, the Provincial Secretary remained responsible for carrying out government policy and for law, order and security, but the senior government *representative* in the Province was now the Provincial Commissioner who, within his Province, was accorded precedence over all chiefs (other than those holding Cabinet posts), Ministers of State and Ministers without portfolio.[51]

[48] E. D. Morel, *Nigeria: Its Peoples and its Problems*, 1911. See also his map.

[49] As a result of the Oldman *Report on Primary Education*, Kaduna, 1959, pilot local education authorities have been set up in three of the 70 Native Authorities that comprise the 13 Provinces.

[50] This is the contrary to the Eastern Region experience where the term 'Native Authority' came under heavy fire in the House of Assembly in 1949 and was abandoned in favour of a straightforward British local government conciliar vocabulary.

[51] See, for example, the circular issued by the Resident, Zaria Province, in September, 1962, which outlined the administrative changes involved in the new system for the benefit of heads of commercial firms, banks and missions. (STA/26/43).

In the Estimates, new sub-heads of expenditure were created,[52] and provision was made for an executive officer to be attached to each Provincial Commissioner as his private secretary.[53] The Provincial Commissioner was, it will be recalled, enabled under the Law to delegate any of his functions. A long list of functions under the Native Courts Law was in February, 1963, delegated to the Provincial Secretary and gazetted retrospectively.[54]

Administrative instructions

A major document for the study of the new system is the *Administrative Instructions to Provincial Commissioners and Provincial Secretaries*. The instructions touch on protocol, law and order, delegation of powers, the Provincial Council, touring, staff, visitors and official entertainment. These were, of course, reinforced by the compilation of a code of conduct (as for Ministers) which included rules of obligation, rules of prudence, and guidance on secrecy and public statements.

The fundamental definition of the twin offices of Provincial Commissioner and Provincial Secretary is important enough to quote in full:

> The Provincial Commissioner is a Minister to whom has been assigned responsibility for the business and administration of a Province. He is the direct representative of the Government of Northern Nigeria in the province to which he had been appointed. As such, except for Members of the Executive Council of Northern Nigeria with Portfolio, at functions within his province he takes precedence over all others, official and non-official, including Chiefs in their own Chiefdoms. Under Section 3 of the Provincial Administration Law, No. 2 of 1962, all functions under any written law formerly exercisable by a Resident of a province are vested in and exercisable by the Provincial Commissioners, as such however he does not exercise the powers of an administrative officer under any law. The Provincial Secretary is an Administrative Officer of the Public Service of Northern Nigeria who has been appointed the Chief Administrative Officer of a Province and he ranks as the senior Government Officer in that province. The relationship between the Provincial Secretary of the Province is similar to that existing between a Minister and the Permanent Secretary of his Ministry.[55]

Further extracts, of the most important of these Instructions, are given in Appendix C.

Subsequent events and adjustments

Since the offices of both Provincial Commissioner and Provincial Secretary were entirely new concepts in the system of Provincial Administration, it was clear that the first year would be a trial period. In the event, the introduction of the new system has been effected with a smoothness that reflects well on the people, politicians and civil servants of Northern Nigeria.

Meetings of all the Provincial Commissioners under the chairmanship of their senior member were held in March, 1963 (Kaduna) and again a year later (Zaria), while in August, 1963, a full meeting of all Provincial Commissioners

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[52] Head 250, Subhead 18. In succeeding years the estimates have been absorbed into the annual budget for Provincial Administration under the vote for the Premier's Office.

[53] A special short course was arranged for these private secretaries, most of whom were of Assistant Executive Officer rank. After some discussion, they were authorised to draw the allowance of an acting Executive Officer.

[54] See footnote 34.

[55] *Administrative Instructions to Provincial Commissioners and Provincial Secretaries*, Kaduna, 1962, para. 3.

and their Provincial Secretaries at Kaduna was presided over by the Premier to examine what he called "teething troubles".[56] No communiques were issued, but official press comment talked of an agenda of "matters relating to the efficient performance of their duty" and of "political affairs".[57] Personal matters of allowances and upkeep of the Lodge also featured, and there was discussion of whether all powers should not in the first place be vested in the Provincial Commissioner who would then delegate some to the Provincial Secretary instead of the current practice of delegating to both parties by a Gazette notice, which might be misunderstood as showing that the Provincial Commissioner did not enjoy the full confidence of Government. In discussing the vital matter of relationships, the Premier referred to a few cases where "local heads of departments have shown disrespect to Provincial Commissioners", but the concensus of opinion was that the system was proving a success.[58] At the budget sessions of 1963 and 1964 the system came in for praise from members of the legislature[59] even as a move to strengthen the Northernization policy, except from the one province where a group of parliamentary seats are held by Opposition members and whose Provincial Commissioner was inevitably described as "politically he is our enemy"[60] and "a small god . . . whose activities are not to the best interests of the people in the province".[61]

At first no arrangements were made to cover the leadership of a province when the Provincial Commissioner went on leave. Leave in instalments was at one time advocated, to obviate the acting problem and to encourage a Provincial Commissioner to keep in touch with his own constituency. During his absence when the House of Assembly is in session, say some six weeks in a year, the office has remained vacant, with the Provincial Secretary keeping a watching brief, but recent appointments of a temporary nature during official leave periods are of considerable interest.[62] For instance in one province (Kabba), a Parliamentary Secretary from Kaduna acted as Provincial Commissioner, while in another (Zaria), it was the Provincial Commissioner who stood in for a Minister while he was on leave.

Epilogue

After only 18 months it is too early to attempt anything like a definitive assessment of the new system of Provincial Administration in Northern Nigeria. At least it has worked; and worked well. Experience suggests that in the flush of independence any new philosophy of Provincial Administration is likely to be accepted and not till later are criticisms likely to be made – or at least heard. But other new states may likely find something of value in the success of the Northern Nigerian approach.

It may therefore be more profitable at this stage to project our thoughts and conclude this paper by giving consideration to some of the major questions raised by the new-styled Provincial Administration – clearly come to stay –

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[56] *Northern Nigeria Ministry of Information Press Release*, No. 1853 of 1963.
[57] *Morning Post* (Lagos), 25th February, 1964.
[58] See footnote 56.
[59] *Debates: House of Assembly*, Kaduna, March, 1963, pp. 91-98.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 291.
[62] Typical examples of the formal arrangements now being made are to be found in *Northern Nigeria Gazette*, No. 84 of 1963, where authority to exercise all the functions of a Provincial Commissioner on leave is given to a named substitute under the Interpretation Ordinance (Cap. 94), for example H.N. Notice, nos. 1308-1310 of 1963.

in the years ahead. These I present in a series of issues for subsequent analysis and argument:[63]

(*a*) Without entering the classic battlefield of whether indirect rule provides a better training ground for self-government than direct rule, it does seem an acceptable postulate that after independence some more direct form of control by the centre (in Northern Nigeria, the region) over local authorities is needed and expected. 'Control' here embraces direction, restraint, and even catalysis. If this assumption is accepted, then the Provincial Commissioner system of a political boss seems to fit the bill, at least for so long as a dominant one-party government or a lilliputian opposition obtains.

(*b*) Since the young African district officer cannot – even if he would or should – reproduce the aloofness so often attributed by politicians all over Africa to his British predecessor, least of all in Northern Nigeria's authoritarian society, the provincial administration role requires redefinition at the administrative as well as at the political level. Throughout Africa, such a lack of clear directives was a stumbling block to the remaining expatriate as well as to the new indigenous district officers during the transitional period of a political government superseding an administrative one as the fount of policy. Hence the logic of the Tanganyikan separation of the former district commissioner's powers and of the introduction of a provincial commissioner system in Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Ghana.

(*c*) While politicization of the provincial administration down to the provincial level is in keeping with the sentiments and the times, politicization of the administrative machinery below that to the divisional and district level may come up against two snags;

(i) shortage of competent political administrators, resulting in the uneasy Tanganyikan experience of second-rate local party executives, appointed as district officer on a patronage system for services rendered, reportedly being unable or unwilling to think in any terms wider than themselves;

(ii) the kiss of death to any idea of a civil service career based on merit.

(*d*) The provincial commissioner system cuts the gordian knot of how to deal with the powerful native administrations who were at once the electoral foundation of, and the centre of resistance to interference by, the regional government through its administrative officers.

(*e*) The need for the general, law and order, administrative mandate of the district officer as "in your area I am the Government and you are my people" is giving way to a need for specialized skills in economic and social administration.

(*f*) The time may have come to consider the abolition of the traditional Administrative Service and the creation of an Administrative Grade as in the U.K. Civil Service.[64] This would not only make for ease of postings and simplification of promotion problems, but would also help in the

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[63] In originally formulating some of these arguments, I wish to acknowledge the inspiration derived from discussions with Mr. C. A. G. Wallis of the African Studies Branch of the Colonial Office when he visited Ahmadu Bello University towards the end of 1963.

[64] I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Smith, Deputy Secretary to the Premier, for first putting forward this view.

administrative training of the cadet entry and allow the provincial administration to gain from the services of experienced departmental officers without permanently robbing the professional ministries.

(*g*) The politicization of the administration may have a deleterious effect on administrative recruitment. Current figures indicate that the cream of graduates may now prefer departmental careers.[65] Much will depend on a smooth and mutually respecting non-interference relationship between the Provincial Commissioner and his provincial administrative staff.

(*h*) At present virtually no native administration has succeeded in recruiting to its non-professional cadres anything much better than boys with a failed secondary education or a Division III West African School Certificate. Any suggestion of a career in the native administration inevitably meets with derision from undergraduates and Higher School Certificate students. Their rejection is based on allegations of nepotism, of promotion through *whom* they know and not *what* they know, or irrelevance of training for the job (i.e. a sanitary inspector becomes a district head or a district head becomes supervisor of works): the school and university atmosphere of advancement through merit and qualification tends to highlight the worst features of native administration service in the minds of students. A determined move is required to attract into local authority service the graduate, both to improve local government and pull in the employment slack that will soon exist among non-technological graduates.

(*i*) In order to control and improve the component parts of the provincial administration system, i.e. the local authorities, a vast upgrading of the quality of native administration staff is necessary. The past few years have seen a serious falling-off in standards, partly due to the withdrawal of the district officer's supervisory responsibilities[66] and partly due to the drawing-off of the best native administrative staff into government service. With an adequate output of graduates in Public Administration, Arts, and Law assured in the near future, steps should be taken to channel such surplus administrative ability into local authority work. This is necessary partly because the young age-structure of the present Administrative Service means slow promotion: partly because vacancies in the Administrative Service *pur sang* will not keep up with the university output; and partly because of Government's determination to improve the efficiency of the native administrations. Ideas like the Irish council-manager system or a government-appointed agent posted as chief executive to the native administration might be considered. It must not be forgotten that the total native administration budgets equal nearly 50 per cent. of the budget of Northern Nigeria,[67] so that Government has a clear responsibility for improving the native administration – an intention already made manifest by strong Government intervention in the affairs of even senior emirates like Kano, Gwandu and Zaria.

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[65] Support for this assumption is found in the articles "Northern Nigerians as Today's D.O's", *West Africa*, November 2 and 9, 1963.

[66] The new edition of *Financial Memoranda* and the tightening up of the District Officer's responsibilities for Native Treasury checks indicate a return of his traditional role at least in this sphere.

[67] In the current (1964-65) budget, rounded-off figures given an expenditure of £26 million by the Northern Government and £24 million by the combined Native Authorities. (Budget Speech, House of Assembly, March, 1964).

APPENDIX A

The Provincial Administration Law (Northern Nigeria) 1962

(Extracts)

3. All functions under any written law at present exercisable by a Resident of a province shall hereby vest in and be exercisable by the Provincial Commissioner of the province.

4. (1) Subject to the provisions of subsections (2) and (3) the relation between the Provincial Commissioner and the Provincial Secretary of the province in respect of which the Provincial Commissioner has been appointed shall be similar to that existing between a Minister of the Government of Northern Nigeria and the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of which such Minister is appointed.

(2) The Provincial Secretary shall be subject to the directions of–

(*a*) any Minister who is a member of the Executive Council and to whom has been assigned responsibility for any business of the Government including the administration of any department of Government.

(*b*) the Provincial Commissioner.

(3) Where there is a conflict between the directions of the Provincial Commissioner and the directions of any other Minister mentioned in subsection (2) the directions of such other Minister shall prevail.

5. (1) Where under any written law a Provincial Commissioner is empowered to exercise any functions he may, or at the discretion of the Premier shall, depute–

(*a*) any administrative officer posted to the province in respect of which the Provincial Commissioner has been appointed;

(*b*) any officer of the Federation with the consent of the Governor-General;

(*c*) any other public officer of Northern Nigeria with the consent of the Minister charged with responsibility for the functions exercised by such officer,

by name or office to exercise those functions, subject to such conditions, exceptions and qualifications as the Provincial Commissioner may prescribe.

(2) Any delegation made under the provisions of this section may, and at the direction of the Premier shall, be revoked.

(3) Any delegation or revocation thereof shall be notified in the Northern Nigerian Gazette.

6. When any power is given to a Provincial Commissioner to make any declaration or appointment or to give a licence, authorisation, exemption, notice, direction, approval, permission or consent, it shall be sufficient for the same to be signified under the hand of the Provincial Secretary of the province in respect of which the Provincial Commissioner has been appointed.

7. All functions delegated to Residents under the provisions of any written law are hereby deemed to be delegated to Provincial Commissioners.

8. Where no Provincial Commissioner has been appointed to a province or where the office of such Provincial Commissioner is for any reason vacant the functions exercisable by a Provincial Commissioner shall be exercisable by the Provincial Secretary.

9. The Premier, may, through a Provincial Commissioner, or, where the office of such Provincial Commissioner is for any reason vacant, through the

Provincial Secretary, direct a native authority to carry out any of the functions vested in it by any written law or by native law and customs, and the native authority shall comply with such direction.

APPENDIX B

The Provincial Administration Law (Eastern Nigeria), 1959

(Extracts)

4. There shall be established in and for each Province in the Eastern Nigeria a consultative and deliberative body to be called the Provincial Assembly.

5. Each Provincial Assembly shall consist of the following members:–

(*a*) A Provincial Commissioner appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the Premier who shall preside over the Assembly.

(*b*) provincial members elected by the Local Councils in the Province in accordance with the provisions of section 7 of this Law.

(*c*) ex officio members who shall consist of members of the House of Assembly and the House of Chiefs from the area of the Province.

21. (1) For the purpose of achieving efficient execution of Government policy in each Province and for securing satisfactory discharge of the duties and responsibilities of the divisions and counties within each Province, there shall be set up in and for each Province a system of Provincial Administration, the officers of which shall be:–

(*a*) A Provincial Secretary;

(*b*) Senior officers of certain Regional Ministries;

(*c*) Administrative officers in charge of the Divisions in the Province;

(*d*) And such other officers or staff necessary for carrying into effect the purposes of this Law.

(2) The relationship between the Provincial Commissioner and his Secretary shall be the same as that existing between a Regional Minister and his permanent Secretary provided that where the directive of the Provincial Commissioner to his Provincial Secretary is in conflict with that of a Regional Minister the latter shall prevail.

(3) The functions of a senior official of a Regional Ministry shall be such as from time to time may be specified in any directions or order given or made by the Ministry.

(4) The duties and functions of an Administrative Officer shall in addition to his existing responsibilities, include the maintenance of order and good government of the division under his charge.

22. The Ministry may make regulations and give directions with respect to all or any of the following matters:–

(*a*) filling of vacancies in a Provincial Assembly;

(*b*) standing Rules and Orders of a Provincial Assembly;

(*c*) Functions of the Provincial Commissioner.

APPENDIX C

THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION LAW (WESTERN NIGERIA), 1964

(Extracts)

3. (1) There shall be established for each province in the Region a Provincial Administration which shall be known by such name as the Governor in Council may by order prescribe, and shall be under the general direction and control of a Provincial Commissioner appointed for the province by the Governor in Council by order.

4. It shall be the duty of every Provincial Commissioner, from time to time–

(*a*) to make known to the Governor in Council, through the Minister, the social, educational, economic and other needs of the province for which he is appointed and of the inhabitants thereof;

(*b*) to bring to the notice of the appropriate Government authority for necessary action any such matters relating to the operation of services provided by the Government for the province of any part thereof as he may deem expedient;

(*c*) to discharge any other functions conferred or imposed upon him under or by virtue of any other provisions of this Law;

(*d*) to discharge such other functions of an administrative or advisory nature in relation to the province or any part thereof as the Governor in Council may by order prescribe or otherwise direct:

Provided that nothing in this section shall be construed as derogating from the powers, duties or other functions of any other person or authority under any law in relation to any province or any part thereof.

5. (1) There shall be established for each Province in the Region a Provincial Council which shall be known by such name as the Governor in Council may by order prescribe.

(2) Every Provincial Council shall consist of–

(*a*) the Provincial Commissioner for the province, who shall be the chairman;

(*b*) such number of elected members as shall be prescribed by the Governor in Council by order and elected in accordance with the provisions of any order made under section 8;

(*c*) all Members of the House of Chiefs and the House of Assembly from the province, who shall be *ex officio* members;

(*d*) all Presidents of local government councils in the province for the time being, who shall be *ex officio* members;

(*e*) such number of appointed members as shall be prescribed and appointed by the Governor in Council by order.

(3) There shall be a President of every Provincial Council who shall be an Oba appointed by the Governor in Council from among the members of the Provincial Council, and who shall preside at meetings of the Provincial Council on ceremonial occasions and shall have such other functions as the Governor in Council may, subject to the provisions of this Law, by order prescribe.

7. (1) For the efficient discharge of the functions of every Provincial Administration and Provincial Council under this Law, there shall be appointed as an officer of the public service of the Region a Provincial Secretary, the relationship between whom and the Provincial Commissioner shall be the same

as that subsisting between a Permanent Secretary to a Government department and the Minister of the Government of the Region charged with responsibility for that department.

(2) In the discharge of his functions under this Law, every Provincial Secretary shall be assisted by such other officers of the public service of the Region as the Governor in Council may assign or direct to be assigned for the purpose from among–

(*a*) administrative officers serving in the province for the time being;

(*b*) other senior and junior officers of Government departments serving in the province for the time being.

(3) In addition to the officers mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section, there shall be appointed as officers of the public service of the Region such other persons as may be required for carrying into effect the purposes of this Law.

(4) The functions of an administrative officer assigned as aforesaid shall, in addition to his functions under any existing law and subject to the directions of the Provincial Secretary, include the taking of measures necessary for the maintenance of peace, order and good government in the province or any part thereof.

(5) The functions of any officer of any Government department assigned as aforesaid shall, in addition to his functions under this Law, be such as may from time to time be specified in any direction given by that department.

(6) Where in respect of anything done or to be done in pursuance of any of the provisions of this Law, there is any conflict between any directions given by a Provincial Commissioner on the one hand and a Minister of the Government of the Region to any officer of his department on the other, the directions given by the Minister shall prevail.

APPENDIX D

The Administrative Instructions on the Relationships of Provincial Commissioners and Provincial Secretaries (Northern Nigeria)

(*Extracts*)

1. *Relations with native authorities*

(*a*) By law the Provincial Commissioner has the power to give the instructions of the Premier to Native Authorities. However, apart from this special power which he exercises in his capacity as the direct representative of the Regional Government in his province, the Provincial Commissioner has a special duty to clarify and explain Regional Government policy to Native Authorities. He should not seek to supersede the Provincial Secretary and his Administrative Officers, who are public servants, as advisers to Native Authorities on the execution and implementation of Government policy or on matters of daily routine but rather to fulfil a new role by virtue of his special position as a Minister of the Government solely responsible for the business and administration of the province.

(*b*) The Native Authority is responsible for the local government of its area and as such the Provincial Commissioner must treat all Native Authorities equally and impartially, regardless of political opinions, except in so far as this might have a bearing on sound administration and good government in that area.

(*c*) By law the Provincial Commissioner is now able to exercise all those functions conferred on Residents by the Native Authority Law, 1954, No. 4 of 1954, in particular with the special rights of attendances and discussion at Native Authority Council Meetings and the power to tender advice, conferred by Section 150 of that law. The implementation of these powers by the Provincial Commissioner will vary according to the state of development and efficiency of the particular Native Authority concerned.

(*d*) Although he has the power to attend Native Authority Council meetings the Provincial Commissioners would not normally attend unless a matter of particular importance warranted his presence, in which case he would always be accompanied by his Provincial Secretary. The Divisional Officer will continue routine attendance at Native Authority Council meetings.

2. *Relations with the Provincial Secretary*

By law the relationship between the Provincial Commissioner and the Provincial Secretary of the province to which he has been appointed shall be similar to that existing between a Minister and his Permanent Secretary. That is to say:

(*a*) The Provincial Commissioner is responsible to the Premier and to the Executive Council of Northern Nigeria for the implementation of Regional Government policy in his Province.

(*b*) The Provincial Commissioner will therefore be responsible for all policy decisions within his province and will ensure that they accord with Regional Government policy.

(*c*) The Provincial Secretary will be the Chief Administrative Officer of the province responsible to the Provincial Commissioner for the execution of approved policy and the directions of the Commissioner.

(*d*) It will be the duty of the Provincial Secretary to keep the Provincial Commissioner fully informed of all matters, developments and activities within his province. All matters of importance should be frankly discussed with him and it is his duty to give the Provincial Commissioner every assistance.

(*e*) Equally it is the responsibility of the Provincial Commissioner to maintain the closest relationship with his Provincial Secretary and to keep him fully informed on official matters.

(*f*) The Provincial Secretary will be responsible for ensuring that any matter put to the Provincial Commissioner for his decision has been thoroughly examined at the official level in all its aspects and all appropriate advice made available to him.

(*g*) The Provincial Commissioner will not overrule the Provincial Secretary on the methods he uses to execute administrative action in the Province and neither should he by-pass him. Any changes in directives should be made through the Provincial Secretary.

(*h*) The Provincial Secretary will be responsible for the efficiency of administrative staff both in headquarters and in the administrative divisions. He must ensure their efficiency and good behaviour.

3. *Relations with other administrative officers*

Since the Provincial Secretary is responsible to the Provincial Commissioner for the execution of policy it follows that the Provincial Secretary will give administrative instructions to the Administrative Officers of that province. The Provincial Commissioner will not give instructions direct to Administrative Officers; these instructions must be given to the Provincial Secretary. Administrative Officers should not hesitate to give frank views. It is essential to the efficient running of a province that the Provincial Commissioner should give full and open support to his Administrative Officers when carrying out approved policy. They are the chief executive officers for the implementation of Regional Government policy in provinces and as such they must continue to command the respect and confidence of the Native Authorities and the public. A Provincial Commissioner should remember that every administrative decision can be distorted and he should not act upon unofficial approaches over the conduct of the Administrative Officers of his province. Such matters must be dealt with officially in conjunction with the Provincial Secretary so that his view may be heard.

4. *Relations with the public*

The Provincial Commissioner as a Minister and the direct representative of the Government of Northern Nigeria in the province to which he has been appointed must at all times, in public and in private, maintain the dignity and status both of a Minister and of his new office in that province. His honour, integrity and impartiality must be unquestioned. He is the spokesman of the Government in his province and has a duty to keep the people of his province fully informed of Government policy and plans for the progress, development and prosperity of the people of his province and of the region. As well as being a spokesman of Government he must also be the spokesman of his people. Within reason and where practical he should be accessible to all so that he can bring to the notice of Government the desires of the people and the things that need to be done to improve conditions in his province.

Institutional Training in Africa

(i) The Institutes

by R. E. Wraith

In old colonial days training for any kind of administration was rudimentary. In the 'field' an administrative officer would learn from the Provincial or District Commissioner to whom he was first posted, from whose predilections and prejudices he probably never recovered, and whose virtues and eccentricities he passed on to the next generation. In the 'Secretariat' he would be instructed in the stately and somewhat cumbersome methods of Edwardian predecessors. This was not as reprehensible as it may sound to contemporary enthusiasts for management, for the only purpose of administration is to serve the needs of those who are not administrators, that is to enable directly productive people, such as doctors, engineers, agriculturalists and teachers – and latterly planners – to do their work with as much help and as little hindrance as possible. But in old colonial days there were few of these, and a large or high-powered administrative machine would have been disproportionate, and might well have resulted in administrators making work for each other, in the manner noted by Professor Parkinson. Anyone familiar with the application of large-scale methods to small-scale organizations will know how much unnecessary work they cause. The work of field officers, which might consist largely of walking through the bush, settling disputes (occasionally rather violent ones) and negotiating with tribal elders, would not have benefited from the introduction of modern management techniques; and in secretariats, even in recent years experts in organization and methods have been a little daunted by the utter simplicity of the situation in which they were called upon to exercise their skill.

But the old colonial era vanished with the war, and in the years since then governments have been faced with more formidable responsibilities, to which the new independent governments have now added. The era of development and economic planning has brought capital and skill from all over the world, and both have been wasted in some measure because the administrative machine which existed to serve them was inadequate. It is true that the old world lived on alongside the new, and international experts in the science of administration have often been naive in supposing that sophisticated techniques are appropriate to *every* situation; but they have been completely right in believing that administrative expertise in central, provincial and even local areas has been unequal to the deployment of capital, the employment of professional skill and the planning of a programme of development – remote possibilities in pre-war days which suddenly descended on an administration which had been designed for simpler and more straightforward tasks.

The initial response to this situation, in terms of training, was slow, but it has gathered momentum and in a year or two from now every English-speaking country in Africa will be equipped with a teaching Institute of Administration with reputable staff and standards, and most of them will soon be initiating

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research, using the word in a broad sense, into the administrative problems of their countries. It has happened a little late, but this is understandable since the age of development came in with a rush, while assistance in teaching and research had to be recruited from all over the world, which is necessarily a slow process.

This article examines the contemporary position in English-speaking Africa with special reference, where possible, to local government. It cannot help being something of a catalogue, since the same pattern recurs in different countries, or varies slightly from one country to another. It may make it less wearisome to read if the nature of this pattern is first mentioned.

In approaching the problem of how training shall be organized, three questions recur. First, should it be based on universities or on government institutes; second, if in government institutes should they at least be *associated* in some way with the local university; and third, should training for local government be regarded as something distinct and separate, or treated as an aspect of public administration in the wider sense, and taught under the same roof. Most frequently, accidents of local history determine the answers to these questions, and it is not suggested that uniformity has necessarily very much to commend it; on the other hand experience may show that one approach is apt to be more fruitful than another, and a comparison, in spite of its resemblance to a catalogue, may hold some interest.

In *Ethiopia*[1] the pattern is unambiguous. The work is concentrated in the Imperial Ethiopian Institute of Administration, an offspring of the United Nations, by whom it is financed and staffed. It stems from a request to the UN in 1954 and has been in operation since 1956. Its purpose is equally unambiguous – to serve the Ethiopian Government, and though attached for administrative purposes to the Prime Minister's office it has a semi-autonomous existence. It bases its programme equally on three functions – consultation, training and research. In discharging the first of these it has been unusually successful, for it deals so constantly with requests for advice and assistance from government officials and departments that the major part of the staff's time is consumed in this way. In this particular relationship with government it appears to be more happily placed than institutes in ex-British colonies, which are sometimes uncertain whether it is their function to try to influence the policies of the governments which established them, which can well cause offence; or merely to carry out the directives of these governments as to what they shall teach or study, which can be a frustrating – even humiliating – position for institutions which in their very nature should be expert in their field and equipped to offer advice. (We shall return to the point in a later article.) The Ethiopian Institute is fortunate in that it does not have to offer advice gratuitously, for its advice is constantly sought and frequently accepted. This would not happen, of course, if its staff were not of the high calibre which the United Nations can supply; it is perhaps only natural that a government should take more account of the opinion of internationally recruited experts than of its own seconded civil servants. Nor is this only an example of the aphorism that an expert is someone who comes from a long way away, for it is likely that in many important matters such experts speak with greater authority than a locally recruited staff, whose experience is limited to the country in which they are working.

In its training function the Institute follows familiar lines, though its

[1] Included here because the official language of the country is English.

emphasis is on management and 'work-simplification' and its approach strictly technical. Its publications – for which 'research' is perhaps hardly the appropriate word – are of the same nature, and are designed to oil the administrative wheels by improving organization and methods in government departments. The Institute has an unusually good library, in which the financial hand of the United Nations is also apparent. It is not formally connected with the Haile Selassie University, except in so far as members of its staff do part-time lecturing there. The University plans to establish a Department of Public Administration of its own, but the plans for this are not far advanced. Local government, which falls within the province of a Vice-Minister of the Interior, is not treated as a separate subject for training purposes.

In *Kenya* there is a similar concentration in the Institute of Administration at Lower Kabete near Nairobi, which dates in its present form from 1961. Originally a 'Jeanes School', in a later incarnation it provided a wide range of training for chiefs, community development officers, shop-keepers, clerks and others, often with their wives. The decision to develop the site (over ninety acres) as a comprehensive Institute of Administration was made shortly after the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference, and the cost of very considerable conversions and additions was largely undertaken by USAID. It now provides first-class accommodation and teaching facilities, including an audio-visual aids centre, for 450 students. Again, local government is not treated as a subject in isolation, but it is one of five departments, the other four being public administration, concerned primarily with training senior civil servants; executive training; co-operative training; and community development training. It is in fact primarily a *training* institute, in which the blackboard and lecture have almost wholly given way to syndicates, case-studies and practical exercises.

While the capital cost of improvement was largely borne by USAID, America also makes a significant contribution to teaching through a joint undertaking with USAID and the University of Syracuse, New York, which provides some vital members of the academic staff, as well as books and equipment. The remaining staff are either seconded from the Kenya Civil Service (including the Principal) or recruited by the UK Department of Technical Co-operation (now the Ministry of Overseas Development), which also supplement Kenya expatriate salaries. In all there is a teaching staff of nearly thirty.

The teaching of local government is sub-divided into Administration and Finance, and a course at an ordinary and an advanced level is offered in each, the latter being geared to the intermediate examinations of the Corporation of Secretaries and the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants; each lasts twelve months, or a little more. A point of interest is that these courses are attracting recruits from other East and Central African countries. In Kenya itself the local authorities are expected to pay the cost of fees and maintenance, but USAID makes yet another contribution by the award of bursaries where this is necessary.

The Royal Technical College in Nairobi formerly undertook some training in public administration, but with the inauguration of the Institute, and its own development as a College of the University of East Africa, it has withdrawn from this particular field.

A policy for training in *Uganda* has yet to be resolved.[2] So far the Univer-

[2] This article is based largely on information obtained during a tour in May-July, 1964. The author wishes to apologize if his statements have at any point been overtaken by events.

sity College at Makerere, through its Department of Political Science, has offered courses for selected civil servants; the academic staff has been assisted by an experienced administrative officer and the syllabus has blended the academic with the practical. Training for local government staff has been undertaken separately, at the Nzamizi Training Centre on its spectacular hill-top overlooking Lake Victoria at Entebbe. Originally established to train chiefs and community development officers and their wives (though its pupils have included an immense variety of others) it now also accommodates an intensive year's course for local government finance officers under the direction of an administrative officer and two instructors recruited by the DTC from British local government. These treasurers are key men in efficient administration and the effect of this training could be wide and salutary; on the other hand the effort and expertise which is concentrated on them for the best part of a year appears to be uneconomic.

Thus Makerere and Nzamizi contribute their parts, but a sense of wholeness is lacking; what is being done does not add up to a policy for training. However, a policy is taking shape, and it is hoped to build a comprehensive Institute, which will be near Makerere and in some sort of association with the University College, while not being an integral part of it; the local government training at Nzamizi would then be moved to the new Institute, so that the Kenya pattern would be repeated, except that a firmer association would exist with the local university. The plan anticipates that a large part of the capital cost would be met by USAID and that staff would be recruited from both American and British sources.

Neither has a definitive policy emerged in *Tanganyika*, where there is a new piece in the jig-saw puzzle in the shape of a vigorous Institute of Administration *within* the University College at Dar-es-Salaam. It must always be arguable whether instruction of this kind in a university, following the academic year and adapting to the academic pattern, is to be regarded as training or education – whether indeed the two are mutually exclusive; a point to which we return at the end of this article.

Meanwhile training, in its unambiguous sense, is provided by the Government at the Civil Service Training Centre at Dar-es-Salaam, and at the Local Government Training Centre at Mzumbe, 130 miles inland, the clearest example in Africa of the separation of local government training from that of the central administration. There is a tendency throughout Africa to drop important institutions in remote places, without regard to the expense and inconvenience of communication. This is of course a highly personal view, since those immediately concerned with Mzumbe remark on the perfection of its site, far enough from the temptations of the great city while not being, by Tanganyikan standards, inaccessible. Since however, it must be visited continuously by lecturers and officials, and since each journey must cost about £10, it seems an expensive line of communication to maintain. But that is by the way. The Centre itself, under an African Principal and with a teaching staff of ten, recently trained 450 government and rural authority officers in a single year on residential courses which lasted from four weeks to six months. In addition its 'extra-mural' activities reach a large number of councillors, officers of divisional executives and elected representatives to the new 'area' administration. It is, in the literal sense of the word, an influential place.

A certain ambiguity attaches at present to the role of the University Institute of Administration. Its terms of reference are wide and include, with Government

approval, both formal and in-service training; in its first two years it has offered a number of *ad hoc* courses for important categories of public servant, such as District Magistrates and Area Commissioners; it has, in the words of an official document, "made considerable progress in an eclectic, pragmatic fashion, endeavouring to meet as many urgent demands of the Government as soon as possible". Its natural wish, however, is to provide courses adapted to the academic year, and its ultimate place in the whole training pattern may take some time to determine. Its relationship to the Government on the one hand and the University on the other is in the finest British constitutional tradition, whereby sharp definitions are avoided and there is always room for adjustment to particular circumstances.

This provides it with a potentially strong asset, for it may find that it is freer than institutes elsewhere to fulfil the role of consultation and to assist in framing policy – the outstanding feature of the Institute in Ethiopia. Whether any institute can play this role must, of course, depend upon the quality and experience of its staff, and here the Institute is exceptionally fortunate in the number of big guns that the Director has brought into action from overseas. UNESCO, USAID, the DTC and the Ford Foundation have between them made possible an international staff of high repute, while the Government has seconded three of its own officers and the University of Manchester a senior lecturer.

For completeness, a brief reference may be made to the East African Administrative Staff College, which has now completed the first of its courses, and which will move between the countries of East Africa. This however is to provide only for the most senior administrators in government and their counterparts from industry and commerce, and is outside the scope of a survey which is directed as far as possible to local government.

In *Malawi* there is no university, there is an exceptionally acute shortage of administrative staff at every level, and no training facilities are yet available to local government officers. There is, however, an excellent Institute of Administration, some eight miles from Blantyre, which will add local government training to its curriculum when it moves shortly to new premises in the town itself. Here the British Treasury is making a generous contribution to capital and recurrent costs.

Until then the scope of the Institute's training is threefold. There is an administrative section, training potential administrative officers; a legal section, training potential lawyers for the preliminary Bar examination; and a co-operative section. The teaching staff of fifteen is recruited in part locally and in part through the agency of USAID and the DTC. When the new buildings are in use, and when a local government section is added, and when the smallness of the country is taken into account, the final Institute should bear comparison with any in Africa.

In *Zambia* again there is no university, though one is to be established on a site some distance from the capital city. But there is, in the centre of Lusaka, an institute which departs from the conventional name and is called the Staff Training Centre. It has been working for some time in borrowed premises but has recently moved into new buildings which, when they are completed, will be the finest of their kind in the countries under review. Although in the centre of the city they will occupy some 26 acres and accommodate 160 students, of whom 60 will be accompanied by their wives, in hostel accommodation of unusually high standard. In this Centre members of the civil service and the

local government service will ultimately be trained under the same roof. So far training has been directed to the civil service, with the avowed object of enabling expatriates to be replaced by Africans in the shortest possible time, and of laying the foundations of a civil service with a high tradition and *esprit de corps*. It has been based firmly on case-studies, practical work and role-playing exercises, against a background of wider educational subjects such as social anthropology, economics and comparative government. Three Departments are in operation – those of Administrative Training, Executive Training and Legal Training (preparing candidates for the preliminary Bar examination). The Department of Local Government Training is to make a fourth, but more space and additional staff are needed before the pattern can be completed in this way.

Its completion is urgent, for local government reform, long overdue, is in rapid progress; but paper reforms are all too easy, while real reform depends on a supply of trained and competent men. So far local government training has taken place at a rural centre, Chilimbana, some thirty miles from Lusaka, and in seven provincial training centres. The Zambian Government is happily in a position to provide for most of this impressive development from its own resources, but is seeking outside expert assistance, mainly from the United Kingdom and through the agency of the DTC.

No firm policy exists as to any kind of ultimate association with the University of Zambia. It is an open question. For the foreseeable future there is an urgent job of training to be done to the exclusion of more academic study or of research.

As matters stand the Local Government Department of the Centre will be concerned with the training of African staff for the rural councils. Municipal government is almost wholly staffed in the upper ranks by expatriates, who are already professionally qualified.

This situation exists also in *Rhodesia*, where the cities and towns are staffed by professionally qualified European Rhodesians, and where, as in Britian, training is not organized as a specific 'extra-mural' activity for the younger staff, but is obtained partly on the job and partly by the pursuit of qualifications through normal professional channels; while African local government, except in an advisory or consultative sense, does not exist in the urban areas.

In the rural areas on the other hand it is developing under an Ordinance of 1957, and training is admirably arranged at the Domboshawa Community Development Training Centre, some twenty miles from Salisbury. This is an unusually spacious and well-equipped centre which was originally used for agricultural and technical training. In addition to community development officers it is now training secretaries and treasurers to local councils in six-month courses. Forty-one attended the first and twenty-five have been recruited for the second. The training is practical and 'down-to-earth', with a good deal of concentration on financial procedure and financial exercises.

To complete the Rhodesian picture, though it is unrelated to local government, there is a Public Services Training Centre in the former Federal Government House in Salisbury, where extraordinarily assorted courses, some of them very short, are provided for all branches of the civil service over a certain grade. These courses are planned as a coherent whole and are designed to give a civil servant the type of stimulus and expertise needed at successive stages of his career. They are multi-racial, though as admission depends on grade, Africans are at present in a small minority. An unusual feature is a 'community development' section, through which all senior officers of the Ministry

of Internal Affairs, from the Provinces as well as from headquarters, are required to pass. The words are used in inverted commas, since they are employed in a wholly different sense from that of Domboshawa, where they mean practical improvement by self-help on local projects. In the Public Services Centre they are used in terms of human relations and group dynamics, and there have been interesting results on the attitudes which determine the actions of administrators in the Rhodesian *milieu*. The section has been assisted both by USAID and by the Institute of Education in London.

There is no formal link between administrative training and the University.

Nothing useful can be said at this stage about the *High Commission Territories*, where local government is still at a rudimentary stage. The need for systematic training is accepted, both in central and local administration, but the policy is to wait until it can be focussed on the new University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, so that implementation is some way ahead. If the policy matures it will provide an interesting example of a university which is the centre of training activity.

Sierra Leone has come rather late into the field, but has made progress in training civil servants. A Civil Service Training College was established some two years ago, and provides four streams of courses of varying length – one for administrative officers, one for executive and clerical officers, one for accountants and treasurers and one for 'management', though this word is not used in the context of administration but is applied to supervisory grades and foremen, largely from the Ministry of Works. Three members of the teaching staff have been recruited and are paid by the DTC. The College suffers seriously from inadequate premises in a converted private house, which limits its intake to forty at any one time. This is one reason why its curriculum has not yet extended to local government training, which does not exist in any serious sense. There is a small training school at Kenema in the Northern Province, but there is general agreement that it is inadequate.

Better premises are the key to further development and are being sought. When they are found it is proposed to start three-month courses for senior local government employees, for which purpose the DTC has been asked to recruit additional teaching staff.

There is no connection with the University.

The position in *Ghana* is a little complicated. For many years after the local government reorganization of the 1950s there was a well-developed Local Government Training School in Accra, but in 1963 this was closed down and its functions taken over by the School of Administration in the University of Ghana. This School offers courses of various lengths, some leading to a University Diploma, in accountancy, secretarial practice, hospital administration and local government. The local government training has certain limitations in its new setting, principally in regard to day-to-day routine and 'know-how', and it is now proposed to revive the *ad hoc* Local Government Training School under a new team of instructors with practical experience in local councils.

At a higher level, for the training of graduates selected for the public service, there is an excellent Institute of Public Administration, independent of the University, financed and staffed by the United Nations Special Fund and under the direction of an experienced Indian. The quality of the staff and the breadth of the syllabus are impressive.

In the *Federal Territory of Nigeria* the question of local government does not arise, except in relation to the Lagos Town Council, for which no special

training provision exists. A Civil Service Training Centre has been in existence for many years, providing for the needs of administrative, executive and clerical officers in the Federal Service.

The University of Lagos, mainly through American initiative, may however become an important influence in Nigerian public administration. The Faculty of Business and Social Studies now offers a B.A. degree with four options – in economics, accountancy, management and public administration, the first year syllabus being common to all students. Their first graduates will emerge in 1965. The Faculty is staffed and financed by New York University and USAID.

In the *Western Region of Nigeria* the University of Ife is now at the centre of developments. As a result of two years planning between the Government, the University and several American and British centres of administrative study the Institute of Administration was established on the University site in July, 1963. It is concerned with training officers of the administrative class. The major initiative has been taken by the Institute of Public Administration, New York City, with help from the Ford Foundation, and there is a strong team of American consultants. Its first concern has been a nine-month Diploma course for Government nominees.

It was preceded by many years by a Civil Service Training School which comprises two training 'wings' – one concerned with 'Treasury and Management' and the other with local government. The School is housed in good premises, but only sporadically has it been adequately staffed by academic teachers, notably by American consultants. At present it offers one six-month and two six- week courses, conducted by administrative officers under the direction of an Acting Assistant Secretary appointed by the Ministry.

The Institute of Administration and the Civil Service Training School have a good deal of common ground, though operating at different levels, and conversations are in progress to discover if some degree of integration can be brought about. If this could be done the Region would possess a formidable piece of training equipment.

The *Eastern Region of Nigeria* has not in the past paid very much attention to institutional training. For some years there has been an 'Institute of Administration' in a private house, scarcely converted, but staffing – the key to success – has not been given a high priority and no team of the necessary calibre has ever settled down to purposeful work. More recently a great step forward has been made through the initiative and generosity of the Ford Foundation, one of whose Consultants is now engaged in raising it to a new stature. It is in the process of moving into new buildings which will allow it to develop a local government wing, so that for the first time institutional training will be available within the Region for local government officers. Meanwhile in its deplorably poor premises, it has been overhauling its administrative and executive syllabus and developing modern management studies. The new buildings, by now half completed, will not be on the scale of those in Lusaka, but will have the most modern equipment, including teaching machines and a language laboratory, and should be entirely adequate to the Region's needs.

In the *Northern Region of Nigeria* the Institute of Administration at Zaria has long occupied a commanding position in Africa, and its immensely wide range of instruction, catering for every grade of public servant from typists to magistrates, and from clerks to administrative officers, has been an important influence in the Region's progress. However, the settled pattern of many years has recently been changing. With its integration into Ahmadu Bello University

some lower-grade training has been dropped and academic standards have been raised all round. In the Department of Public Administration a B.A. course in Administration is now offered, together with Diploma courses in Public Administration and Public Accounting. Standards in the Department of Local Government have been similarly raised, with a Diploma course at undergraduate level and an intermediate course. The Department also supervises a major 'extra-mural' scheme of training in accountancy and administration in thirteen Provincial centres, which reaches nearly 800 students annually.

Massive aid in different fields has been received from USAID and the Ford Foundation, and staffing, teaching and research have been strengthened by a close association with the Graduate School of International Affairs in the University of Pittsburgh, and with the University of Manchester.

Two significant developments, out of many, have been the building of an international conference centre, financed by the Ford Foundation, with the consequent establishment of a conference programme under a full-time Director; and a programme of research under the direction of Pittsburgh, undertaken at a 'Research and Advisory Centre' in the Institute itself. The Institute's long lead in training is now permitting it to take a new lead in research.

One result of the changing pattern, however, is that the Institute no longer stands alone in Northern Nigeria as an institutional training centre. The Ford Foundation, in its ubiquitous generosity to Nigeria, has recently established in the capital city of Kaduna, a 'Staff Development Centre'. Immediately, this Centre has taken over the work shed by the Institute of Administration, but the quality of its buildings and staff suggests that it will not confine itself for long to training the lower echelons. A possible development is that the Institute, in its university setting, will continue to increase its academic standards and that the Staff Development Centre will expand in the realm of practical training. But this is speculation.

Two reflections arise from this conspectus. First, that the pattern is still so varied that no conclusions can be drawn about which is the 'best' arrangement as between universities, institutes and local government schools; in any case one could not generalize in the absence of universities in Malawi and Zambia. There is probably no such thing as 'best', though a few more years' experience may reveal respective strengths and weaknesses. Provisionally it seems that the association between institute and university cannot be close so far as *training* is concerned, but that an association of some kind is helpful to the staffs of institutes and conducive to research.

Governments need to second men for training for periods which may vary from a few weeks to a year, while universities must work in academic years. Governments must often train men of very low formal educational qualifications, while universities must maintain a relatively high standard of admission. Universities are concerned with education, and although the frontiers between education and training are not clearly defined, governments must be concerned with 'nuts and bolts' which universities neither understand nor wish to be involved with. Even at a higher level the men who are normally recruited to university staffs (i.e. on the strength of their academic record and especially of their publications) cannot teach people how to administer, for in British practice it is easier for an administrator to become an academic than for an academic to obtain administrative experience. Finally, almost any kind of course in Africa has to be residential, and universities must give their limited accommodation to undergraduate or graduate students. The universities' most important

contribution may well be to design first degrees which are a deliberate preparation for an administrative career.

On the other hand there is a good deal to be gained from an association, and at certain points the gain is mutual. A government training institute becomes a very narrow world, and its staff have a lot to gain from wider connections, professionally, intellectually and socially. Few men of any calibre can work for many years teaching short, repetitive courses without flagging mentally and becoming frustrated – or indeed without losing touch with the subject they are teaching. Africans can return to administration but expatriates whose experience has been in the country itself can no longer hope to do so, and if teaching proves to be their *métier* it is useful for them to have a foot in the university world. Universities, also have a lot to gain from any bargain that can be struck. They are bound to be under closer government scrutiny, if not actual control, than universities elsewhere, and nothing is gained by treating 'academic freedom', which is now subject to modification anywhere in the world, as a sacred cow. The aim must be to create a partnership and to avoid the hostility that all too easily arises, and a Department or Institute which is concerned with the processes of government, and with helping to train those who will operate them, can be an excellent bridge; while the accession to the teaching staff of men who have worked in government and know the country intimately is healthy in a situation where virtually all expatriate members are newcomers to the country and indeed to the continent.

Another mutual advantage is that institutes with a university connection are better able to initiate research, or to publish suggestions which might arise from an academic study of some aspect of administration, to an extent that is difficult for one which is virtually a sub-department of a Ministry, taking whom it is required to take and teaching what is ordained. Such studies can have an important influence on the policy of governments which themselves have little time for reflection, or for systematic study of the problems they must solve.

As to the policy of housing local government training in separate schools (separate, that is, from Institutes of Administration) the trend is against it. Nearly all the newer institutes propose to incoporate a local government section as soon as premises and staff allow, and some already do so. Tanganyika is an exception to this, and in Ghana the need for 're-separation' is apparently being felt, but logic and common sense seem to be against the division, which becomes more artificial as local government becomes more and more closely integrated with the whole administrative machinery of *development*. The real problem is that as matters stand the local government service is usually a poor relation of the civil service, and its members are accordingly less well-educated and qualified. Any training institute is the better for a reasonable degree of homogeneity, and if there is to be an association with a university a minimum educational attainment becomes necessary. The solution, however, is not to plan for separate local government training schools on the ground that candidates will fall short of a required standard, but to increase the status and responsibility of the local government service so that they will in time achieve it.[3]

The other reflection that arises from this conspectus is that institutional

[3] It appears that this has recently been done in Ghana. See *West Africa*, 17th October, 1964, note on p. 1174. Incidentally, it will have been strikingly clear throughout this survey that local government has had to take the last place in the queue for accommodation in the new institutes.

training in Africa would make a poor showing without international, and especially United States, aid. The British contribution, through the DTC, is easy to underrate because it is made without any great flourish of trumpets. A traveller going through these countries at a great pace might not come across it at all, though he would be vividly aware of the large scale-projects by the UN, USAID and American universities. It consists in recruiting and paying individual instructors who are needed for particular purposes in certain places, and in topping up the salaries of others in order to retain them on the ground. Those whom it recruits are usually practical and competent people from British local government, and their presence is invaluable, though their auspices tend to be anonymous.

In these days, however, people *like* a flourish of trumpets; quite apart from which a large project planned, financed and executed in its entirety over a period of years is likely to be more effective than individual appointments made *ad hoc*. The United Nations projects in Addis Ababa and Accra, the USAID undertakings throughout East Africa, the Ford Foundation munificence in Nigeria, and the bold ventures of the Universities of Syracuse, New York and Pittsburg, are not only impressive in themselves but have both an impact and a momentum which British aid cannot rival.

British universities, like the British Department of Technical Co-operation, can manage a little, and as contemporary secondment schemes get under way they may manage very much more, especially in the field of medicine. But in public administration and local government there is not a great deal they can do, because the schools and departments, let alone the financial resources, simply do not exist in British universities from which to second individuals, let alone teams on the American model ranging from professors to secretaries. It is left to the University of Manchester to fly, here and there, the British flag.

It is a matter for thankfulness that American aid is available, though one for nostalgic regret that Britain can give so little to those who were once her wards. Americans themselves do not share this regret. This is not because they are possessive or ill-disposed, but because they do not think that Britain has anything to teach about 'development administration'. They were not impressed with what they found in Africa, and were themselves too far removed from the pioneer situation to be surprized that they should find anything at all. They feel perhaps rightly, that a nation which has only just begun to treat administration as a subject for academic study, decision-making as a science and management as a religion is irrelevant to the needs of modern Africa.

This raises a question of far greater importance than any that has been discussed so far. What *is* taught in these various schools and institutes? What *ought* to be taught? Is the teaching relevant to the days of colonial, or computer, administration? Has the teaching of *local* government in particular any relevance to contemporary problems or politics?

An attempt will be made to discuss these matters in a further article.

Local Government Training in England

by Dudley Lofts

Many of the most important public services in England and Wales are administered by some fifteen hundred independent local authorities. In the nineteenth century the activities of these authorities were regarded as being primarily the responsibility of the particular local community. Most of the services which they provided were for the benefit of the area concerned and the central government showed only a limited interest in them. During the last fifty years or so, the central government has assumed an increasing degree of responsibility for the range and quality of many of the major local government services, such as education, housing, highways and police. In spite of this, the local authorities have remained autonomous administrative units with the power to raise money through a local rating system, and they are the direct employers of more than 200,000 administrative, professional, technical and clerical staffs. In addition, they employ a large number of teachers, policemen and firemen, together with other employees who can be broadly classified as industrial and manual.

This article is concerned with the training of the administrative, professional, technical and clerical staffs, and is an attempt to give a general picture. There is no single local government service, as is the case with the Civil Service, but rather a collection of the staffs of individual local authorities. Moreover, there are no typical local authorities: they range in size and resources from major cities like Birmingham, and the great counties like Lancashire, to the smallest of towns and villages. Similarly, their needs for staff vary and there are always exceptions to any generalized statement. There are, however, certain common features. The salaries and service conditions of all the officers covered by this article are negotiated nationally, most of them by a single joint council, representative of both the employing authorities and their staffs. In general terms, this means that although each authority is responsible for recruiting, training and promoting its staff, it operates within the framework laid down by these national negotiations. Secondly, since 1946 all local authorities have accepted the principle that officers should be encouraged to obtain suitable qualifications – if they do not possess them when recruited – and the national service conditions prescribe salary bars above which only qualified officers should be promoted. Thirdly, the service has long recognized the need for professionally qualified officers, and practically all the senior posts in authorities of any size are filled by men and women who hold the appropriate professional qualifications. For example, the chief administrative officer (the Clerk) is usually a solicitor; the city or county treasurer is invariably a qualified accountant; the medical officer of health is a fully qualified doctor. This insistence on professional qualifications extends down each department, often below the level of deputy. Fourthly, all local authorities require general administrative, clerical, typing and other ancillary office staff. These groups have seldom been the concern of professional bodies, and for them the service has had to evolve its own system of training and qualification.

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As implied, for many years most training in local government has been professional training. In some fields the need for professional men and women has always been met by recruiting persons already qualified. This has always been, and still is, the method of meeting the need for doctors to fill senior administrative posts in Health Departments. Similarly, most of the senior posts in educational administration are filled by recruiting graduate teachers with varied and responsible teaching experience. Again, some of the solicitors who eventually become clerks to local authorities began in private practice and were later appointed to junior legal or administrative posts in local government. Training for some professions is, of course, provided by the universities and other institutes of further education on a full-time basis. Examples of such full-time training courses are those for social workers, architects, engineers and librarians, and some of the local authorities' needs in these fields are met by direct recruitment from the universities and colleges, with no further post-entry training of a professional nature.

Although some of the needs of local government for professional people always have been, and still are, met in these ways, there has always been a strong tradition of recruiting direct from the schools and encouraging and facilitating professional training whilst at work. For example, the clerks of many local authorities (who are themselves solicitors) take selected young officers in the service as articled pupils, so that they too can qualify for promotion by taking the examinations of the Law Society. In accountancy, the main professional body is the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, which was established by local government financial officers in 1885 and later provided a professional qualification suitable for accountants in local government and obtainable by in-service study. Although the Institute now caters also for accountants in other branches of the public service, its main interest still lies in local government and, for those who wish to become accountants in local government, entry as a trainee on leaving school, followed by part-time study under supervision, is still the main route.

The needs of the service for professionally trained officers are therefore met in two ways, either by recruiting those who have obtained their qualifications outside the service or by recruiting from the universities and schools and providing training within the service. The range of professions covered is extremely wide. Whereas most local authorities draw from the legal, accountancy, engineering and medical professions, the larger authorities, with their complex range of services, employ also architects, quantity surveyors, social workers, housing managers, and many others. In all these cases, the standards of entry to the profession, the nature of the training demanded, and the content and standard of the qualification are normally decided by the professional body itself and not by the employing local authorities. Furthermore, although some of the professions concerned are 'local government' professions, in that their membership is limited to people employed in local government and their qualifications are specially designed to meet its needs, many others are professions of national significance, whose local government members may constitute but a small proportion of the total. In these cases the professional training often bears little direct relation to the special needs of local authorities. For example, most local authority clerks are qualified solicitors and have followed a course of training designed by the legal profession as a whole, in which only a small element will have been related to the legal and administrative work of local or other public authorities. Therefore, as far as established professional

training is concerned, the service largely accepts the pattern determined by the professions. However, where new arrangements for training and qualification have had to be set up in recent years to meet the specific needs of local government, the controlling body often contains representatives of the employing authorities. Perhaps the best example is the new scheme for the training of social workers for the local authorities' health and welfare services, which is under the control of a national council appointed by the central government, on which the local authorities are directly represented, together with other relevant professional and educational interests. In a similar way, the service itself has established the Local Government Examinations Board for the training and qualification of administrative and clerical staffs.

The Local Government Examinations Board was established in 1946 and is appointed by the National Joint Council, which negotiates the salaries and service conditions of all but the very senior administrative, professional and technical staff. Three main elements are represented on the Board – the Employers' Side of the National Council, the Staffs' Side of the National Council, and the National Associations of Local Authorities. Although some of the members appointed by the Local Authority Associations are elected representatives, others are chief officers, and the Board also contains three independent members chosen for their experience in education and training. The Chairman of the Board is normally a well-known educationist and the last two Chairmen have both been university Vice-Chancellors.

When the Board was established one of its main tasks was to devise for clerical and administrative officers a promotion examination which would be comparable to the examinations already available to their professional and technical colleagues. After an experimental period, there emerged in 1952 the present structure consisting of a Clerical Examination and a Diploma in Municipal Administration.

The Clerical Examination is a preliminary test in the system of government and the use of English. It was originally designed for officers whose prospects of promotion were likely to be limited to the clerical salary ranges, but it has since become a general preliminary examination taken by most young entrants, many of whom later go on to more advanced studies. The Diploma in Municipal Administration is a two-part examination – Intermediate and Final – and the average student takes four years of part-time study to complete the qualification. The Final consists of five papers, each of which is marked at university pass degree standard, and the Diploma is in many ways similar to a university Diploma in Public Administration. As might be expected, three of the Final papers deal with Principles and Problems of Public and Social Administration. One of the remaining two is chosen by the candidate from a group of 'background' subjects (e.g. Social and Political Theory, Political Institutions, &c.), and the other from a list of 'departmental' papers (e.g. Local Government Finance, Education, Public Health, &c.). The examiners, drawn almost exclusively from the universities, design their questions to assess the candidate's capacity to relate his reading to fundamental administrative and social problems, and to test his powers of analysis and judgment rather than his detailed factual knowledge.

The impression given so far in this article is that training in local government is met primarily by preparing for examinations and that the standards are set either by professional bodies or by special public bodies established for the purpose. This is generally true, and until recently the training needs of the

service were regarded as synonymous with the preparation for, and passing of, examinations. Many of those who prepare for examinations in the service still rely on study by correspondence course, but in recent years there has been a welcome increase both in the teaching facilities available at local colleges of further education and in the willingness of local authorities to grant part-time day release to their staff to attend college courses. Ever since 1946 the national service conditions have provided that the employing local authority should give financial help to the officer towards the cost of obtaining a recognized qualification. As a corollary, the negotiated salary scales contain salary bars and, with certain limited exceptions, authorities are expected to promote beyond these bars only those officers who hold the qualifications prescribed by the National Council. The National Council has recently widened the facilities which authorities are expected to give to officers preparing for examinations, so that these are no longer limited to financial help. Authorities are now urged to second officers for full-time courses and to ensure that those seconded receive full salary and are reimbursed at least three-quarters of the educational costs of the course. Authorities are also expected to grant part-time study facilities to those who cannot be seconded for full-time tuition, and to give the part-time student the same degree of help with his educational expenses. In this way the service is continuing its policy of in-service examination study, but is revising its methods to ensure that local government officers benefit fully from the expanding full- and part-time educational facilities now available at the universities, and at the local colleges of further education which are provided as part of the local authorities' education service.

This trend away from a general reliance on correspondence teaching and towards college classes is equally apparent in the preparation of students for the Administrative and Clerical Examinations. In fact, the growth of college classes for these examinations has often been at a faster rate than for some of the smaller and more specialized professions. However, the recruitment and training of administrative staff in local government presents difficulties which are not experienced in, for example, the Civil Service. Because local authorities appoint their chief officers from those who are professionally qualified, the local government officer who chooses to prepare for an administrative qualification such as the Board's Diploma generally has more limited prospects than have his professional or technical counterparts. Much of the important administrative work in local government below the level of chief officer and deputy is, in fact, at present being done by able people who were recruited between the wars but did not obtain a professional or technical qualification. Since 1945, too few young people of the same calibre have been recruited to take the Board's Diploma and replace these essential 'administrators'. Both the Board and the National Council have therefore decided to make a special effort to convince local authorities and their chief officers that administrative work, and the qualifications and training necessary for it, need to be given a new emphasis, with improved career prospects.

Although post-entry training has in the past meant passing an examination, there is now a growing realization that examination study can only meet a part of the training needs of the service as a whole. For example, most chief officers and their deputies spend a great deal of their time on a wide range of managerial functions and their professional training – usually undertaken before or soon after entering the service – did little to prepare them for this vital part of their present activities. The supervision and control of staff and new techniques in

office management and administration – for example, a knowledge of organization and methods, of work study, of operational research and of the use of computers – are not generally included in the syllabuses of the professional examining bodies. At a different level, all new entrants to the service should be given a general picture of the service as a whole and be provided with some systematic induction training. This should generally precede a more specialised course of study for a particular professional or administrative examination.

Needs of this sort can only be met by practical training facilities, primarily designed to meet the special requirements of local government and provided mainly by the local authorities, either individually or collectively, as part of their functions as employers. Post-entry training in this sense is in its early stage in the local government service in this country. There is, however, a growing awareness of the need and a gradual, but welcome, spread of the facilities.

Provincial machinery exists to review the training needs of neighbouring authorities and to provide a range of training facilities on a collective basis. An effective start has been made in the provision of induction training for junior entrants, either by individual authorities or by collective action. So far only a limited impact has been made on the problem of providing training for supervisory and managerial posts, but discussions are under way and a number of experiments have already been tried.

Post-entry training – as distinct from post-entry study for examinations – demands a considerable degree of co-operation between individual local authorities, combined with research and experiments at a national level, to define the needs and then suggest ways of meeting them. Some of the larger local authorities have the resources to meet most of their own training needs, but for the majority the only economic way is by collective action, or by using courses provided by outside agencies, such as universities, local colleges or bodies like the Royal Institute of Public Administration and the National and Local Government Officers Association. A significant development in joint and national action has been a widening of the constitution and functions of the Examinations Board to enable it to act as a national agency for the general development of staff training for officers within the National Council's salary scales. The Board can now work in conjunction with the individual authorities and with the provincial groupings in a collective effort to expand and initiate new training courses. In a similar way, the National Associations of local authorities are actively exploring possibilities of top level management training on a national basis for the more senior posts in the service.

Training for Local Government in the United States

by Hugh G. MacNiven

Local Government was once considered a parochial subject to study. Today, the local government practitioner is in a familiar work environment wherever he moves in the world, for he finds colleagues dealing with a host of urban problems that are common to Nigeria and Peru, to the United States and India, to Australia and the Soviet Union, to the United Kingdom and to Mexico. The settings in which these problems are found may differ; the resources to meet them may vary; but the problems themselves are similar, and the urgency for applying palliatives and finding solutions is universal. It is valuable, therefore, and indeed necessary for local government people in all countries to compare strategies, plans and procedures for governing the crowded urban places that dot the world.

Local government is no longer the preserve of the interested amateur, although he continues to perform a useful part. More and more, he must depend on the trained administrator and technician to provide the complicated services and to meet the bewildering array of problems that accompany urbanization. Education and training in local government is obviously called for in a greater variety of specializations and at more different levels than heretofore. In addition, the eternal search for competent general administrators to co-ordinate the multi-functions of government is even more critical than in the past.

Growth of urbanization

The United States, like other nations, has been engulfed by the urban wave. It has, as the saying goes, moved from "rusticity to urbanity" in two generations. At the turn of the century there were less than 30 million people in urban places in the United States. The 1960 census shows more than 125 million. It is projected that by 1980 the urban areas will account for 90 per cent. of all the people, with only 10 per cent. remaining in rural areas.

Between 1950 and 1960, 70 per cent. of all new growth in the United States took place in the suburbs of cities. Central city population declined in the last decade, while suburban population increased by 18 million. Fourteen of the first 25 largest cities in the United States lost population within their corporate borders during the decade 1950-60 yet everyone of these increased substantially in the population of their metropolitan areas. New suburbs have been carved out of land until recently given over to agricultural purposes. The suburbanite, wishing to escape the urban problems of the central city with its decaying core, rushes into a small, new municipal government, which is almost immediately overwhelmed with the staggering cost of building modern municipal facilities from the ground up. New schools, new water supplies, new sewers, new roads, new streets, and other essential services must be provided overnight; and the taxpayer who has fled the high cost of the central city finds that he has an even

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more irksome tax burden to shoulder. The result is a metropolitan area, forming one great community, but fragmented by many governments, each with its own local government staff and its local financing. This patchwork makes it virtually impossible to tackle many of the area-wide problems facing the metropolitan resident.

The magnitude and complexity of American urban problems, therefore, exceeds the supply of trained people to meet them. With the possible exception of racial relations, the urban question is the greatest domestic issue facing the United States today. A few of the urban problems which are common with many countries are: air-pollution; inadequate sewerage; overloaded streets and highways; overcrowded schools; inadequate low cost housing; insufficient park and recreational facilities; antiquated public transport. All of these call for new outlays of capital at the same time that the traditional public services – public safety, public works and education – are requiring greater and greater expenditure.

The variety in training needs

What kinds of trained personnel are needed for American Local Governments? The Municipal Manpower Commission in one of its discussion papers states that trained people are needed to (*a*) govern urban communities; (*b*) plan urban communities; (*c*) house urban communities; (*d*) educate urban communities; (*e*) transport urban communities; (*f*) manage the services of urban communities; and (*g*) finance services of urban communities.

For training purposes it is common in the United States to distinguish four categories of senior municipal officials who can, and should be, trained through the University system. These four are general administrators; administrators of specialized functions; staff officers; and technical specialists. All these must be forthcoming in sufficient numbers from the Universities if the task of governing, planning, housing, educating, transporting, managing and financing of urban communities is to be met.

The major local government educational responsibility, under the heading of general administrator, is the city manager. Nearly 2,000 municipalities in the United States have adopted the Council-manager form. In addition many communities require administrative assistants to mayors or other elected chief officials. This requires a constant flow of highly skilled generalists. This kind of training is provided in a number of universities of which the University of Pennsylvania, Syracuse University, the University of Kansas, the University of Pittsburgh and the University of Southern California are among the largest.

The usual academic programme for a city manager is a four-year Bachelors' Degree in the liberal arts or social sciences, followed by a Masters' Degree in administration which requires from one to two years of post-graduate study. Before entering his career the young manager will probably spend at least six months as an intern in the city manager's office of one of the large cities which undertake these training programmes.

Administrators of specialized functions such as airports, public safety departments, welfare agencies, hospitals, port authorities, public works departments, schools, urban renewal programmes and many others is the second category of local government personnel trained by the universities. These persons must be able to perform the whole range of administrative duties and still maintain some technical knowledge of their functional areas. Many of these are former technicians who have been promoted into administrative

responsibilities. In the past they have been technicians first and administrators second, but the trend is towards training an administrator first with sufficient knowledge of the technical field to be able to perform well in the functional setting. In the past a hospital administrator was likely to be a physician who had taken up administrative duties. Today he is more commonly trained in administration and provided with enough knowledge of the medical environment to work effectively with practitioners of medicine.

The variety of training institutions

Schools of Public Health, Education and Welfare have tended to train their own administrators. There are also a few specialized programmes for training Public Safety administrators. The schools of Public Administration, however, bear a major responsibility for the education of most other administrators for specialized agencies. Again these programmes are post-graduate for the most part.

Auditing, budgeting, legal affairs, planning and research are among the types of staff officer training needed by American cities. These are all well established university specializations and the practitioners will have technical training and, ideally, some general administrative training and experience.

Technical specialists include engineers of several kinds, physicians, librarians, scientists and architects to name a few. These people come out of specialized courses and tend to move into administrative duties as they are promoted. In their academic training there is little concern for administration as a field of study and many an able man finds himself overwhelmed when he first moves into administration. To alleviate this situation a number of schools of administration have added "Capstone" courses to assist the specialist in his transition to administration. Experienced professionals are now returning in mid-career to universities for education in administration and many local governments are granting these persons released time and financial support for their course work.

There are both undergraduate and post-graduate programmes in Public Administration in the United States, and within them there are specializations in municipal government and urban affairs. Undergraduate "professional" education, however, is disappearing in the United States (Law and Medicine have long been post-graduate), and Public and Business Administration, engineering, etc. are now considered more appropriate for the Master's degree level than for the Bachelor's. The young person entering government service needs both the broad liberal educational base of the undergraduate degree and the more specialized training of the professional degree. A post-graduate "degree" in Public Administration rather than the "diploma" is awarded the successful candidate, as it is felt that professional education is neither less worthy nor intellectually rigorous than the traditional academic disciplines. It is also felt that the professions and the disciplines contribute so much to each other that they ought to be taught in the same universities rather than providing professional education in a separate technical institution or through a professional association as was once common.

Except for "Capstone" training, the foregoing discussion has been concerned with pre-entry education. Post-entry training for persons already in the Local Government service is also carried on on a wide front.

Post-entry training is conducted by many Local Governments themselves. A few states, notably California and New York, provide courses for local personnel. The universities are more and more recognizing their responsibilities

for certain types of in-service programmes. Bureaus and Institutes of Government in leading universities provide a range of training for elected officials, for technical and professional officials and for clerical employees. These courses are frequently provided by the extra mural studies departments of the universities. Leagues of Municipalities, which are associations of local governments which exists in about 45 states, carry out numerous institutes and short courses for their membership. Lastly a number of professional groups such as the International City Managers' Association, the Public Personnel Association, the American Public Works Association, the American Society of Public Administration and others in planning, police, finance, etc. provide high level training opportunities in various parts of the country.

Despite the diversity of courses available there is a curious anomaly in post-entry training. There is not nearly enough good training available to meet the needs of all local governments, and yet these governments are not taking full advantage of the facilities presently available. The difficulty is simply that training as a normal, systematic part of employee development is not yet universally accepted in American local administration. There is no consistent training policy evident in the average municipality or other local unit.

The present post-entry training picture is chaotic. With more than 100,000 units of Local Government in the United States, it is obvious that a few hundred unco-ordinated and highly specialized programmes cannot meet the needs. The possibilities for state-local and inter-municipal co-operation in American local government training are just beginning to be realized.

Possibly in no other country is there as much activity in education and training for local public service as there is in the United States. Yet the magnitude of the training task is still not fully understood nor are the facilities fully marshalled and co-ordinated to obtain the maximum results for the effort and cost.

Local Government Reorganization in the Isoka District, Zambia

by W. J. S. Hudson

Introduction

Isoka district is situated in the north-east corner of Zambia's Northern Province. It borders on Tanganyika to the north, and on Malawi to the east. The district's area is 5,800 square miles and its population is approximately 80,000. This paper describes how unity in a district local authority eventually emerged out of serious disunity caused by tribal and political antagonisms.

In almost all parts of Zambia, administrative district boundaries were fixed in the early years of this century so as to follow tribal boundaries, and wherever possible, to include not more than two or three tribal groups at the most in each district. This was quite impossible in the case of Isoka district. In the 19th century this mountainous watershed area had been to a great extent a place of refuge for many small tribes driven there by stronger neighbours, and a complex situation was further complicated by the fact that the Malawi and Tanganyika boundaries followed watersheds, taking no account of tribal distribution. Several of the Isoka tribes therefore found themselves divided between different territories.

The early administrators were thus confronted with a bewildering variety of no fewer than eight distinct tribes, some incomplete, within a comparatively small district. Several of these tribes numbered only a few hundred people, but although there has always been much inter-tribal marriage, they retained a touchy tribal consciousness which still exists beneath the surface even today.

The Native Authority system in Isoka

Nowadays tribalism is rightly considered to be a disruptive and reactionary force, but in the 1920's districts were still regarded by the mass of the people as artificial units imposed by their European rulers. The only group loyalties were to chiefs and tribes, and these were at that time the only possible basis for the beginnings of local government in the form of the native authorities set up in 1929. But the complex of different tribes in Isoka would not fit neatly into the general pattern of one or two, or at the most three tribal native authorities in each district. The history of native authorities in Isoka is largely a story of fruitless attempts to make the exception fit the rule by placing the smaller tribes under the political control of larger ones to which they owed no traditional allegiance whatsoever and with which they had nothing in common, until in the end unity under one native authority was seen to be the only possible solution. Finally, therefore, the very disunity of the people of Isoka led to a broader district unity before this was achieved in most other districts of the territory.

At first two superior native authorities and two treasuries were created – Chief Kafwimbi and Council for the Wiwa area, and Chieftainess Wayitwika and Council for the Winamwanga area. These two tribes were admittedly the largest in the district, but their own areas covered only the western plateau and

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did not extend into the Luangwa Valley or the country to the east of it along the Malawi border, inhabited by tribes of Tumbuka origin which have nothing in common with the people of the western plateau. Although this must have been well known, the "Winamwanga area" was taken to include the whole of the district apart from the Wiwa area. It was evidently hoped that the eastern tribes would come to accept Wayitwika as their senior chieftainess. Needless to say, this did not happen, and after several years of friction the eastern group of tribes were granted their own superior native authority and treasury. For want of a better name, this body became known as the "Mixed Tribes Native Authority". The title was apt, if somewhat unusual.

While this solution satisfied tribal pride as far as it could be satisfied in the circumstances of Isoka, the district was clearly too small to support three independent treasuries. In 1947 the Winamwanga and Wiwa superior native authorities and treasuries combined, Wayitwika and Kafwimbi being given equal status in the new authority. The advantage of the merger soon became apparent, and in the following year the "mixed tribes" also joined to form the "Isoka Superior Native Authority". The name avoided a tribal name that might have caused offence, but unfortunately the Gazette description only mentioned three chiefs by name. This was resented by others of approximately the same standing, but the matter was not set right until 1962, when the Superior Native Authority was re-gazetted with all six chiefs named in the definition. None of the chiefs was prepared to admit that the others were superior in status, and this caused endless friction until a compromise was worked out whereby they all served in rotation as chairman of the council, and all sat in a row on the same dais at meetings. Occasionally one of the ex-chiefs mentioned below would cause confusion by entering the council chamber beforehand and sitting in one of the chairs reserved for chiefs.

A district native authority had thus been achieved on paper as early as 1948. But in its early years the superior native authority was very much a marriage of convenience, entirely lacking in affection on either side, and its meetings were bedevilled by tribal feeling expressed in accusations that the lion's share of the treasury's funds was always spent in the west of the district, where the treasury and *Boma* are situated. On at least one occasion there was a strong move on the part of the "mixed tribes" to secede and set up their own treasury again. Fortunately reason prevailed, and the shaky "marriage" was saved.

The same thing happened on a minor scale at the subordinate native authority level. Recognition was withdrawn from four minor chiefs in the administrative reorganization of 1946, and they and their people were placed under neighbouring more important chiefs of completely different tribes, apparently without any regard for tribal sentiment. This has caused resentment and suspicion of Government out of all proportion to the rather petty financial economies achieved. In one case (that of Chief Mweniwisi of the Lambya, who had been placed under Chief Katyetye of the Tambo) the arrangement was quite unworkable, as Katyetye hardly dared to enter the Lambya country, and in 1956 Mweniwisi was again recognized as a chief. Two other ex-chiefs still live in the hope that they will regain their lost status and raise the matter on every possible occasion, with the full support of their peoples.

The introduction of elected members

Tribal feeling was therefore the dominant factor in the affairs of the Isoka Native Authority until quite recently. But by 1960 it had been largely super-

seded so far as the average villager was concerned by the appeal of nationalist politics, with its enticing promises and its aggressive challenge to the old order of things, including the political authority of the chiefs, which had never been strong in Isoka. During the next two years there were widespread incidents involving resistance both to the Native Authority as a body and to the authority of its members individually as well as to the Central Government, and by 1962 the treasury's operations has been seriously affected by poor revenue collection. In Isoka as elsewhere in the territory, the chiefs were in an invidious position, torn between the feelings of their people and their obligations to the Central Government. It was clear that on the American business principle "if you can't beat them, join them" the only way to retrieve the situation was to bring the political leaders into the native authority so as to make them representative of the mass of the people again, and in this way to deflect the undoubted energy and ability of the new leaders into more constructive activities. At the end of 1962 this was accepted by the Council, which resolved that its membership of 12 should be doubled by the election of two more members for each of the six chiefs' areas.

The new members were chosen by informal processes of election involving consultation with headmen early in 1963, and they made a useful contribution to meetings held during that year. When Government announced a policy of bringing elected members into native authorities and combining tribal authorities into district councils in mid-1963, it could therefore be said that both these objects had already been achieved in Isoka. Unfortunately consultations with local party officials revealed that they were not satisfied with the newly "elected" members. They argued, with some justification, that the members did not represent definite wards of equal population and that the elections had not been conducted on a proper "one man, one vote" basis.

These arguments were considered by the Native Authority Council and it was eventually agreed that proper wards should be delimited and fresh elections held. Fortunately the territorial registration of voters had just been completed and the rolls were available. Twelve wards of roughly equal population were agreed upon; by an unexpected stroke of luck, this worked out at six for the Winamwanga/Wiwa and six for the "Mixed Tribes", so that the arrangement was palatable to the traditionalists.

The election was held at the end of 1963. thirty-two valid nominations for the twelve seats were received, including ten from the existing elected members. It seemed that the election would be an extremely lively one. However, when senior officials of the main political party made it known that anyone standing against their official candidates would be expelled from the party, sixteen of the candidates hastily withdrew their nominations. In the event, eight of the main party's candidates were returned unopposed and only four seats in the densely populated Tanganyika and Malawi border area were contested by candidates of a rival party. They were heavily defeated, polling only two per cent. of the votes cast. 80.3 per cent. of the registered voters actually voted; the polling went smoothly and there were no incidents. Voting for the first time was obviously quite an emotional experience for many people. It is now clear that the election served to reduce tension and "political" crime in a difficult area.

The Isoka Rural Council

The new Council was re-gazetted as the "Isoka Rural Council" under the Native Authority Ordinance pending the enactment of the Local Government

Bill of 1964. The Council now consists of twelve elected and twelve appointed members. Of the latter, six are chiefs and there is one other member for each chief's area; most of these are the former petty chiefs. It was feared that there would be serious friction between the chiefs and the newly elected members, but in fact relations between the two groups have been extremely cordial. The elected members have gone out of their way to give traditional respect to the chiefs, who for their part have accepted the authority of the Chairman (an elected member) without question. One of the chiefs was elected as deputy chairman, and the appointed members have been given very adequate representation on committees.

In the Council's early days, the elected members believed that the district had virtually been granted self-government and that their powers were very much more extensive than they actually are. When they realized that Central Government had not handed over completely to them and that their powers were in fact no more than those possessed by normal local authorities, there was a period of disillusionment and frustration; happily this has been now overcome by an extremely effective course held at the Mungwi Provincial Local Authority Training Centre. Misunderstandings still arise, but on the whole the council is settling down well. Tribalism crops up from time to time but it is no longer the menace it was only a few years ago.

Conclusion

It is still too early in the life of the council to venture any predictions as to its future. It can, however, be said that the modern force of nationalism has successfully rid this multi-tribal district of tribal antipathy, and that it is rapidly welding a diversity of peoples into one. Yet this has been achieved without discarding completely the traditional authorities, which have already shown that they can adapt themselves to a new situation and continue to make a useful contribution to local affairs. In its final form, the council is likely to have a majority of elected members; elsewhere in the territory most of the new councils already have such majorities.

Development of Local Government in Rural Areas in the Gambia

by M. H. Orde

The problem of developing democratic forms of Local Government Councils in the Gambia has been largely determined by factors peculiar to the nature of the country. The most significant of these are the small size and curious shape of the Gambia. With a total of only 300,000 people, the whole country is smaller in population than many local government units in larger countries and the area of 4,000 sq. miles is also smaller than the areas covered by many local government councils elsewhere. But the shape of the country, being a narrow strip of approximately 10 miles wide on either side of the Gambia River stretching for a distance of 250 miles inland from the Atlantic Ocean, makes it difficult to treat the area for all purposes as a single homogeneous unit. Add to this the fact that until very recently communications up and down the river were very slow and it becomes apparent that on a small scale, the need for the de-centralization of certain of the functions of Government and the establishment of representative local councils is as important in the Gambia as in other larger countries where circumstances might favour the creation of larger units of local government.

Leaving aside the position of Bathurst, the capital and only large town in the Gambia, the traditional structure of local government in the rural areas consisted of 35 independent chiefdoms which, with some modifications of the original boundaries, dated from the time of the first establishment of the British Protectorate. Some of the these chiefdoms had earlier included territory which afterwards formed part of neighbouring Senegal and when the international frontier was drawn by agreement between Britain and France, the districts remaining within the Gambia were reduced in size so that many of the resulting chiefdoms were very small. They varied from a little less than 30,000 down to in some cases less than 2,000 total population. Each of these 35 districts was constituted as a Native Authority on the pattern familiar in other British territories in Africa but owing to their small size, it was not until 1945 that the Authorities were allowed to establish their own treasuries and to provide local services and development works financed from district rates. These district rates were levied in the same form as the traditional yard tax which had long been levied by the Central Government on the yard or compound as a unit, with additions varying according to the number of huts in the compound, and also a flat rate on strangers and on immigrant farmers. At the same time, the Central Government renounced the right to collect the former yard tax. Also in 1945, the composition of the Native Authorities which had previously consisted of the chiefs of the 35 districts alone was amended to the chief with the village heads of his district and other traditional advisers in Council.

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Group treasuries

It was not until 1959 that any further steps were taken to improve or modernize the local government structure. It had become apparent for some time that the small size of the District Authorities (as they were renamed) was making it impossible for them to develop satisfactorily. Some of them could command revenues of only about £2,000 per annum and after paying salaries and allowances to the chief and village heads could afford to employ no more than a part-time treasury scribe who was usually shared with several other districts and attempted in a single treasury building to keep separate accounts for anything up to four or five separate District Authorities. The most that could be done in such circumstances towards local development and the provision of services was to make small contributions to a government department or to a central fund which was administered in practice by the Commissioner of the Division, since there was no local government staff able to carry out any specifically local government functions. In order to overcome this handicap, the first stage in the re-organization consisted in amalgamating the treasuries of several districts to form a single unit working on a single set of estimates and able to employ its own staff for carrying out its functions, even though in the initial stages this was done on behalf of the several separate District Authorities comprising the area served by the new enlarged "group" treasury. For the purpose of these new enlarged treasuries, the first of which in Upper River Division was established on the 1st July, 1959, and the remainder on the 1st July, 1960, the 35 districts were grouped into six areas. Upper River Division comprised a single area, MacCarthy Island Division two areas covering respectively the North and South Banks of the river within the Division, Lower River Division similarly two separate areas for the North and South Banks of the Division, and Western Division one area wholly on the South Bank. In order to create satisfactory grouping of districts for the purposes of the enlarged treasuries, it was necessary to make some small adjustments to the divisional boundaries between Western, Lower River and MacCarthy Island Divisions. (The people of the Gambia are made up of many different tribes, distributed generally all over the country and although there are areas where one tribe or another predominates there is no area which belongs exclusively to one tribe so that the areas adopted for local government purposes were chosen strictly on the basis of geographical unity and convenience of communications and have no tribal basis.)

These combined group treasuries, for which provision had been made in the Protectorate Treasuries Ordinance, 1945, were initially controlled by finance committees appointed by the component District Authorities. However these committees, like the District Authorities themselves, included only traditional elements and the next stage to be tackled was to set up elected local government councils covering the same areas as the group treasuries. As far as the introduction of the elective principle was concerned, the development of local government institutions had been overtaken at this stage by constitutional development in the Central Government. In 1960, a new constitution came into force which provided for elections to the House of Representatives for the first time on the basis of universal suffrage throughout the country. Before that date, direct elections had only been held in Bathurst and the ballot box was a novelty to most of the people living in the rural areas. However, with the simultaneous spread of activity by centrally organized political parties to all parts of the country, no difficulty was experienced and a pattern of voting was adopted

which has been used in all subsequent elections and is now familiar to the rural voter.

Election procedure

It may be of value to turn aside briefly to describe some of the methods used to overcome the difficulties inherent in conducting registration and polling in the Gambia which included certain features peculiar to this country – but possibly applicable elsewhere. One serious problem which had to be overcome was the shortage of educated people suitable for employment on election duties including both registration of voters and the actual conduct of the elections. Initially, responsibility for preparing registers was placed by the Protectorate Elections Ordinance, 1959, upon the Village Head in each village. He was required to prepare lists of voters in his village and since he was usually illiterate in English, the first lists were prepared in Arabic script. Teams of interpreters then had to translate these lists into English and arrange the names in alphabetical order. Much difficulty was however experienced owing to varying forms of transliteration of common names and the resulting registers contained many errors. When these were revised in 1961, an alternative system was adopted of employing itinerant registering clerks who visited each village in turn in order to prepare the registers in direct consultation with the village heads under the supervision of Divisional Commissioners in their capacity as Registering Officers.

The same shortage of staff, caused to some extent by the non-existence of those local authority staff who in other territories have usually been available for service on duties of this nature, also necessitated the adoption of unusual arrangements for the conduct of polling. The method chosen was to employ teams of election officials who travelled from place to place, so that the actual polling was spread over a period of up to ten days. Each polling team normally consisted of a presiding officer and two or four clerks depending upon whether it was decided to divide the work at any polling station into two streams. It was found that in most cases the work of checking the registers took longer than the time taken by each person to cast his vote so that two streams of voters passing through two sets of polling clerks could use a single polling booth. Depending on the density of the population to be served by any given polling station, the team would open a station at various places for periods (which were publicly announced beforehand) varying from half a day, where there were only a few voters to be served, to one or two whole days in larger centres.

The other unusual feature of the election arrangements which was adopted in 1960 and has remained in use since then was the type of ballot box. The high percentage of illiteracy among the voters made it necessary to retain the system common in West Africa, of having a separate ballot box for each candidate so that voters had to enter a screened booth to cast their votes in the box of the candidate of their choice. In earlier elections conducted in Bathurst and the Colony Area, one particular form of corrupt practice had been extremely prevalent, the practice of a voter going into the polling booth, placing his ballot paper in his pocket and coming out again without actually having voted. When a number of ballot papers were subsequently found folded together, the inescapable presumption was that they had been sold to the agent of a political party. In order to prevent this practice, the normal type of ballot box and ballot paper were replaced by a box which consisted of a steel drum and a small

marble respectively. The drum has in the top a small opening which would admit one marble at a time being dropped into it but no more, and under neath the opening was fixed a bicycle bell so that when a marble was inserted into the box, it would fall into the bottom of the box and on the way strike the bell, which would emit a loud "ping" audible to people outside the booth. Sawdust was placed in the bottom of the drum to make sure that the only sound emitted was the "ping" and the Electoral Regulations provided that if a voter emerged from the polling booth without having been heard to drop his marble into one or other of the identical drums he could be required to produce the marble and hand it back to the Presiding Officer or alternatively to go in again and make sure that his vote was properly cast. Since it was impossible to drop two marbles into the drum without two "pings" being heard, a person attempting to cast two votes was liable to be arrested on emerging from the polling booth.

This system proved completely successful. Empty drums which had formerly contained lindane (insecticide dressing for groundnuts) were adapted at modest cost and consignments of marbles were obtained from Hong Kong under security conditions. The first time this method of voting was used a demonstration drum was kept outside each polling booth so that the Presiding Officer could indicate to the voter what to do with his marble before he went into the polling booth. The drums themselves were sealed and bore the name and the photographs of a candidate and his chosen symbol and cases of voters failing to find the correct place to insert the marble were surprisingly few. One or two elderly people had to be assisted by the Presiding Officer after they had been found to have left the marble on the ground behind one of the ballot boxes or on top of the lid, and inevitably when the time came for the marbles to be counted, a few unauthorised objects such as pebbles were found in the drum but the Regulations permitted these to be disregarded. The arrangements made for the counting were also simple and effective. In the presence of the candidates and their agents, the drums were unsealed and were tipped out over a large sieve, which was then shaken so as to allow the sawdust to fall through leaving only the marbles. Special counting trays were also prepared, with 200 holes similar to those on a solitaire board. The marbles were placed on these trays and by giving them a quick shake, it was possible to see that all 200 holes were filled, any surplus being tipped back on to the sieve. The tray containing exactly 200 marbles could be shown quickly to the watching candidates and their agents, and the marbles would then be tipped into a bag which was tied, labelled with the name of the candidate, and placed upon the table. At the conclusion of the count of votes for each candidate, there remained a number of bags each containing 200 marbles and an odd number arranged upon a tray which could be quickly counted to give the final exact figure. A recheck if required was equally simple and the whole process much quicker than counting ballot papers. This ingenious and wholly effective method of voting was dreamed up by Mr. L. Weston, Q.C., at that time Attorney General of the Gambia, and the "Weston Drum" deserves a wide popularity in areas where democratic elections are still fashionable.

Area councils

The system of voting described above was used first for elections to the House of Representatives in 1960 and again under the new constitution which provided for an enlarged House in 1962; it was also adopted in 1961 and 1962

for elections to the "Area Councils" as the new elective local government bodies were called. The first councils to be established were composed approximately half and half of elected members and traditional chiefs. In the case of one of these, the Basse Area Council, where there were only four chiefs of comparatively large districts, some additional nominated District Authority members were also included. The general aim was to have a council of roughly 20 members which was considered the optimum size for practical purposes, but with a majority of one elected member over nominated and ex-officio members. Out of caution and from respect for the conservatism of District Authority opinion – as well as on account of perennial staff shortages – the Area Councils were not all established at once; and this pattern was modified in the case of the remaining four councils set up in 1962, and also in the case of the Basse and Brikama Area Councils when their first three-year term of office expired early in 1964 and fresh elections were held. As with the first two councils, the Commissioner of the Division was appointed chairman, but the revised constitution of each council provided that there should be a two-thirds majority of elected members. All chiefs remained ex-officio members except in the case of Brikama Area Council where there are nine chiefs of fairly small districts. These were therefore asked to elect four out of their own number to serve on the council. In addition, in all the councils one nominated woman member was appointed by the Minister for Local Government to represent the special interests of women. This was considered important in a country where by tradition women play an important part in the economic life of the community: apart from petty trading, a sphere in which they are as active as in other parts of Africa, the growing of rice, one of the staple food crops of the country, is entirely in the hands of the women, and throughout the farming season they work as hard on their rice fields as do the men on their groundnut and cereal farms.

Although these new Area Councils had been satisfactorily established and had for all practical local government purposes replaced the District Authorities over the areas of the six original Group Treasuries, they were still by no means wealthy bodies by standards which might be regarded as normal elsewhere. The annual revenue varied between £10,000 and £20,000 and it was possible to contemplate the provision of only a very limited range of services. Each Area Council was staffed by an executive officer who performed the functions of Clerk to the Authority (the title executive officer was introduced at the time of the combined Group Treasuries and before the councils had been formed), a treasurer and two or three district scribes responsible for collection of revenue. Suitable and efficient persons to fill these posts were still hard to find and it was necessary to resort to secondment of Government Officers in order to fill most of the posts of Executive Officer. The Central Government accepted responsibility for paying the salaries of chiefs, who within their own districts retained the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order for which they were answerable to the Commissioner of the Division and not to the Area Council, but even without the burden of these salaries, the Area Council treasuries had very small resources to carry out any substantial development. It was therefore necessary to make a careful study of what the functions of the Area Councils should be in relation to the Central Government and not necessarily to accept the normal pattern which was familiar in other territories where local government had developed on the British model. For example, some subjects like primary education and rural dispensaries had in the past in theory been

regarded as District Authority responsibilities. In practice they had been run by Government with the marginal assistance of small sums of money paid over by the District Authorities. Indeed they could in fact only be operated effectively on a centralized basis in circumstances where the country as a whole and the individual local authorities were so much smaller than was usual elsewhere. Moreover, even on the basis of the small contributions previously paid by the District Authorities, the Area Councils could not have contemplated contributing to the rate of expansion of primary education which the country urgently required and which had been the policy of the new elected government. It was therefore agreed that primary education and rural dispensaries should become matters of Government responsibility and that the contribution of the Area Councils should be limited, in the case of education, to providing Koranic teachers and school caretakers, and in the case of medical services, to the provision of lock-up sub-dispensaries served by weekly visits from a Government dispenser in places where the Medical Department was able to arrange for such visits to be carried out. At the same time however, since the financial position of the Central Government was by no means secure, it was provided that the Area Councils should make a contribution to Government from their own revenue from district rates roughly equivalent to the amount which they had previously paid to Central Government in respect of education and medical services. A normal payment of 15 per cent. of district rates was laid down for this purpose although special provision was made for the Mansa Konko Area Council to contribute only 5 per cent. of its rates revenue on account of the poverty and sparse population of the area covered by that council and consequently the greater difficulty it experienced in balancing its own budget.

This means that the principal services left to be carried out by the Area Councils were as follows:–

(*a*) *Services*
- Sanitary services
- Markets
- Village wells

(*b*) *Natural resources*
- Village seed stores[1]
- Forest parks
- Allocation of leased land[2]

(*c*) *Communications*
- Maintenance of local roads
- Rice access causeways[3]
- Canoe ferries
- Motor parks
- Foot bridges

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[1] These are stores in which farmers can deposit their selected groundnuts for next year's seed and have them protected against insect damage under Agricultural Department supervision.

[2] Plots of land leased for commercial or public purposes under the Protectorate Lands Ordinance. Allocation of village lands for farming remains in the hands of traditional village heads.

[3] Much valuable rice land in the Gambia is inaccessible owing to swamps and creeks. Provision of access causeways and bridges is mainly through communal effort with assistance and supervision from Area Councils.

(*d*) *Welfare*
Lock-up sub-dispensaries
Primary schools: Maintenance of grounds
Provision of Koranic instruction
Boarding facilities where required in rural areas
Adult education
Community centres.

In practice this list of functions has provided ample scope for the new councils and their activities have aroused lively interest amongst the general population of their areas. Elections have been keenly contested and have been fought mainly on the basis of the national political parties. The extent to which party feeling has affected the working of the Area Council has however varied in different areas. In some councils, the fact that the chiefs had been known to support the opposite political party from the majority of their people has operated considerably to their disadvantage and there has been a tendency for the Council to divide between chiefs on one side and elected members on the other. This tendency is however diminishing with the appointment of certain new chiefs who are more in sympathy with the political outlook of the majority of the people.

When the Area Councils were first established, it was anticipated that some modification might need to be made in the structure and legal powers of the councils and the important task of framing a new Local Government Ordinance to provide for their working was allowed to wait until some experience had been gained of their operation. As an interim measure they were established in the first place under somewhat makeshift legal authority as "District Authorities" under the old District Authority Ordinance, which dating as it did from the original Native Authority Ordinance passed in 1933 contained none of the provisions required for modern elected local government bodies. By 1963, however, it was possible to complete the draft of a new Local Government Ordinance, applying to the whole of the Gambia outside the capital Bathurst, and this Ordinance was eventually enacted as No. 26 of 1963. The new Ordinance still leaves considerable flexibility. For example, it provides that the composition of each council shall be prescribed in Constitutional Regulations to be published in the Gazette. The arrangement adopted from the beginning that the Commissioner of the Division should be chairman of each Area Council in his Division was confirmed in the new Ordinance, although it was provided that the Minister might at any time direct that a council should elect its chairman from amongst its own members. No such directions have yet been given. The usual provisions were included in the new Ordinance covering the proceedings of the councils, establishment of committees, employment of staff and the various powers and duties imposed upon councils, together with lists of functions which they might perform and in respect of which they were empowered to make by-laws; financial powers and the authority to collect rates and taxes were also included, together with a general enabling power to permit "minor councils" to be set up. Such councils could be established for individual towns and villages or other limited parts of the area under the jurisdiction of an Area Council, and power was vested in the Governor to prescribe the relationship between any such minor council and the relevant Area Council. The old division, known in many territories in the past, between "the Colony" and "the Protectorate" has been largely dropped: it accords ill with local political feelings; and one interesting

result of this has been the absorption into an Area Council of the neighbouring Western Division, of two almost suburban areas of the old Kombo St. Mary Division of the Colony. Here the "minor councils" provisions of the new law will clearly have an invaluable part to play in the process of change and development; and the experience gained will provide lessons for the trading townships of the old "Protectorate".

District Authorities today

It will be recollected that the developments described left the 35 chiefs of the "Protectorate" of the Gambia, each presiding over the traditional authority of his own district still in existence. Their functions had however for practical purposes been reduced to the maintenance of Law and Order (this function was specifically excluded from the powers of the Area Councils in their initital stages) including the establishment of local courts or district tribunals as they are named in the Gambia. The new Local Government Ordinance therefore contained a section dealing with District Authorities and re-enacting certain of the basic provisions of the old District Authority Ordinance, which was repealed. Although chiefs and village heads carried out certain functions, such as collection of district rates and enforcement of by-laws on behalf of the Area Councils, it was quite clear that they owed their position to the Central Government and were not simply servants of the Area Councils. In the future, the relationship between traditional and the elected local government bodies may well develop in directions which are not envisaged at present but the Ordinance is so worded as to permit of changes to be made without difficulty.

It will thus be seen that with the passing of the new Ordinance, the first stage of setting up elected local government bodies for rural areas in the Gambia was completed. Although many problems remain these are for the moment concerned more with seeing that the councils operate efficiently rather than with further innovations. At the 1964 Chief's Conference held in Georgetown, the Minister for Local Government inaugurated an annual competition for a Local Government Shield to be awarded each year to the Area Council with the best record of performance both by the Council Members themselves (as revealed by the minutes of their meetings) and by the staff of the council with particular reference to the treasury. This was to be measured by such matters as promptness and correctness in the submission of returns, efficient collection of revenue and the absence of losses or serious audit queries. For the first year, the trophy was given to the Basse Area Council which as well as being one of the first to be established, had clearly made the most notable strides towards efficient and responsible working.

Chiefs' Conference

Mention has been made of the 1964 Chiefs' Conference and a word of explanation of this institution may be perhaps of interest since its continuation at the present time represents an adaptation of an earlier type of representative gathering to accord with the present constitution and local government system of the country. This Conference which was started in broadly its present day form in 1944, consisted originally of a meeting of all the 35 Protectorate Chiefs under the chairmanship of the Senior Commissioner, to discuss Government development projects for the Protectorate and hear reports given by the various Heads of Government Departments. Since the establishment of Area Councils,

however, it has now been expanded to form in effect an Annual Local Government Conference attended not only by the chiefs but by elected members of Area Councils. Aspects of Government policy are explained to the conference by the responsible Ministers. Following as it normally does, fairly soon after the Budget Session of the House of Representatives, the conference provides a convenient opportunity for Ministers to explain the aspects of government policy for which they are each responsible before a cross section of responsible representatives of the people from all over the country, thus reaching a wider public than simply through speeches in the House of Representatives – and in a country with no *Hansard*, virtually no newspapers and only an infant broadcasting system this is indispensable. The emphasis naturally is on the local government aspect of Government policies but the opportunity to talk to and hear the views of the Assembly of Chiefs and other members is one which the Ministers themselves have found to be most valuable. Thus, although with the introduction of elections based upon universal adult suffrage to the House of Representatives and for the Area Council it seemed at one time that the usefulness of the Chiefs' Conference had come to an end, it now appears to have established its own special place amongst the new political institutions of the country and seems likely to continue to serve a useful purpose for some time to come.

Quarterly Notes

UNITED KINGDOM – *Report of the Working Party on the Recruitment of Local Government Officers from Britain for Service Overseas. Department of Technical Co-operation*[1]

The Local Government Service in Britain is separate from the Central Government Service and it is not even organized on a nation-wide scale. It has no Head and there is no directing agency. To use the current jargon, it is neither integrated nor unified. Although there is now a reasonable uniformity of salary scales, pensions and conditions of service, this uniformity was only achieved after the war as the result of an agreement negotiated between the local authority associations and the staff associations, representing the employers and the employed respectively. Subject to this agreement each local authority remains what it always has been, the individual employer of its own staff.

With this qualification, the Local Government Service includes many members of most professions and all the members of some professions for example Town Clerks and Treasurers. Many of these officers fulfil all the requirements for a number of posts abroad, whether these are advisory posts or posts in the establishment of an overseas country or posts with a local authority. Yet there are two main reasons why a British Local Government Officer is inhibited from applying for such posts which are mostly on contract for periods of two or three years. The first is that an overseas assignment would mean that he would have to resign from his local authority here without any guarantee of re-employment on his return to this country. The second is that he would have a break in his service for superannuation.

To try to overcome these obstacles and to open up the field of overseas service to British Local Government Officers the Department of Technical Co-operation set up a working party whose Report was published on the 24th August, 1964. The main suggestion in this Report is that local authorities, at least the larger ones, should be prepared to second or to grant unpaid leave to an officer selected for an overseas appointment. This will at one and the same time take care of both the superannuation and the re-absorption difficulties.

Under present arrangements the British Government are not associated with direct employment by local authorities overseas but they have now accepted another suggestion made in the Report, which is to underwrite this type of contract by offering as well a so-called "guarantee" or "shadow" contract. Experience does not suggest that this shadow contract will fail to be honoured except in situations of emergency but its existence may serve to reassure applicants who are not familiar with the conditions of such employment.

A third suggestion in the Report is that the practice of adoption of an overseas local authority or even country by a local authority in Britain should be extended and that twinning arrangements should be made in appropriate cases as it is believed that this would foster the lending of staff abroad. The British Government have agreed to finance in suitable cases the cost of initial visits by senior Local Government Officers from here to arrange such links if the Government of an overseas country wished such visits to take place.

It is interesting to note that, while the Report was being drafted, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations was passing a resolution commending

[1] Now the Ministry for Overseas Development.

town twinning as a means of international co-operation and that it has transmitted this resolution to the General Assembly committee responsible for the preparation of International Co-operation Year 1965.

The Report made some other suggestions of a minor and consequential nature. As a whole it was not written in response to a sudden flood of demand: not more than 75 to 100 appointments annually in this field are likely to be called for. Its purpose was to find ways of removing the obstacles which at present prevent a large cross-section of most professions from even applying for them.

The local authority associations, who were of course represented on the working party, have been asked to commend the proposals to local authorities.

UNITED KINGDOM – *Comment on the* 1964 *Cambridge Summer Conference on Industrialization in Developing Countries*

The Cambridge Summer Conference on the role of industrialization in the developing countries has been a very stimulating experience. It was particularly so for me who had his first contact with the African countries in a large and meaningful manner. The scholastic environment of King's College provided an ideal setting for the official deliberations and private exchange of views.

The main theme which seems to have emerged from the Conference is the vital need for adjustment of the process of industrialization and technological change to the factor endowments of the developing countries including the material and human resources as well as the social and cultural elements of traditional society. This adjustment was required not only in the machines and methods to be used for development but also in the habits, attitudes and institutions which may be imported along with those machines and methods. In fact, it was considered that cultural and social elements, instead of being a hindrance as normally regarded by the Western economic man in the light of his special experience, could be utilized, if necessary with some adjustment, to accelerate the process of growth. A fuller study was called for of these elements to see how far they had decayed or were capable of contribution in the present day context. This was a challenge for the economic planners of the developing countries who may otherwise like to follow the seemingly easy path of least resistance and import and imitate wholesale the machines and methods conceived and refined in a Western cultural setting.

Forums like the Cambridge Conference provide an excellent opportunity for exchange of experience and interplay of thought which is essential for a world of peace and progress.

A. RASHID IBRAHIM.

It was the sober thoughtfulness, the absence of the doctrinaire approach, the receptiveness on the part of all participants which impressed me most about the Cambridge Summer Conference on the role of industrialization in the developing countries. This was true of all who took part, whether they came from the Asian or the African countries, the Caribbean or the U.K.; whether they were officials of national or international organizations, economists or representatives of the private sector. There were no slick preconceived solutions. It was a voyage of intellectual discovery.

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I think the main lesson which emerged from the conference was that the purely economic optimum is not necessarily, and indeed perhaps not often, the social optimum. The planners' choices must be made somewhere between these two points of the development spectrum. A healthy sceptical probing of the views of the doctrinal economists opened up the vision of the conference at an early stage to the human values which development planning is meant to enhance.

In the technological field for example, the design engineer must be given a precise idea of the social and economic factors for which he is invited to design his machines, and where they balance out. We had a glimpse, albeit a distant and tentative one, of a possible task for the new technology. At least one engineer present welcomed this concept, and was confident that the challenge could be met.

A. A. W. LANDYMORE.

The greatest value of a conference like the Cambridge Summer Conference lies in the opportunity provided for a free exchange of ideas among people of widely differing backgrounds and experience. As an academic geographer, though not without practical experience, I found the discussions of economic policy-makers and implementers surprisingly lacking in a sense of reality, and also in humanity.

Too many basic factors (relating, for example, to size and scale, of areas and of populations) received only scant attention. It is surely wrong to assume that we know all there is to know about them. If we make this assumption, and refuse to spend time and money assessing these factors adequately, we shall continue to witness failures in schemes for development. Very little consideration was given to people as human beings; they seem to get fed into formulae for economic development as only *one* of many variables involved. Is there not the danger in planning for industrial development, of neglecting the essential circumstances, both human and material, upon which and for which this development is intended to take place?

R. MANSELL PROTHERO.

FIJI – *Conversion of the existing system of Fijian administration into a system of local government*

The present Fijian administration is a system of local administration with fourteen provinces (Yasana) sub-divided into districts (Tikina). Confined to Fijians the system is based on the boundaries and tribal structure at the time of Fiji's cession to Queen Victoria in 1874. There are local councils at both district and provincial level but they have very little authority and only meagre finance to provide local services. The system, includes a small constabulary and judiciary.

The abolition of Tikina Councils has been recommended by the special committee appointed by the Fijian Affairs Board to look into the question of revising the machinery of the Fijian Administration.

The proposals of the committee were accepted generally by the full Council of Chiefs after the committee had reported to it in September last year. The

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report, a blueprint for the large task of revising the administrative structure of Fijian affairs, has since been presented orally to Provincial Councils by the Rural Planning Officer (Dr. Rusiate Nayacakalou).

Dr. Nayacakalou explained that one reason for the abolition of the Tikina Council organization was that it was a clumsy unit in terms of traditional political associations, nor had not entirely succeeded as a unit of modern administration owing mainly to lack of funds for the provision of trained administrators of a suitable calibre.

He outlined proposals for the development of the existing system of Fiji Administration into a more thorough-going system of local government. This entailed strengthening the Provincial Councils by:

Making the councils elective;
Providing for an elected chairman;
Making the councils responsible for the appointment of their own staff;
Reducing the role of officials from members to advisers;
Providing for direct subsidy from Government subvention;
Increasing the council's regulation-making powers;
Making no provision for the sharing of the councils' responsibilities at lower levels.

Elected members would constitute a large proportion of the new Provincial Councils and "matas" (representatives) in the Provincial Councils would now be answerable to their constituents for their actions. The new Provincial Councils would be at liberty to deliberate on matters affecting the inhabitants of the Province and to make decisions, except on two subjects. New by-laws made by the Provincial Councils and the annual estimates of revenue and expenditure would still need to be submitted to the Fijian Affairs Board for approval.

Since the 1st July, 1964, the Secretary for Fijian Affairs has added to his functions the sphere of local government thus combining in one portfolio urban local government and the embryo local government system. Each Provincial Council will have at its disposal the services of a trained executive staff under the direct supervision of the "Roko" (Government appointed head of each province). This provincial staff will be appointed and paid by the Establishment Committee of the Provincial Council which will also be responsible for disciplinary action where necessary. Provincial staff can be dismissed by the Council but the power does not extend to the posts of Roko, Assistant Roko and Provincial Scribe which are filled from a central pool of officials on the advice of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs.

The effect of the proposed reorganization will be to confer adequate powers on the Provincial Councils to enable them to administer the social services required within the Province – the provision of water supplies, the building of feeder roads to enable the transportation of produce to market, the maintenance of unproclaimed tracks, and anything else which the Provincial Council considers within its financial ability to provide for the benefit of the people living within its boundaries.

Through its executive staff the Provincial Council will provide the necessary liaison with the social and economic services administered by the Central Government. This will provide a means whereby the people themselves, through their own elected Council and executive staff, will be able by self-help to provide for themselves social and other services for which they have hitherto mostly relied upon the Central Government.

In the report there are also certain proposals about the future of the Fijian Magistracy and the Fijian Constabulary. The former is envisaged as coming more directly under the Judicial Department of the Colony. Also, a start has been made along the road of amalgamation of the two judicial systems inasmuch as it is now possible for Fijian divorce proceedings to be tried under either the one or the other system.

The Constabulary, on the other hand, it is hoped to expand and to bring into more direct relation with the general constabulary of the Colony and to assist the work of the Provincial staff in the absence of low level officials.

UNITED KINGDOM – *Conference on West Indian Law*

The success of the conference on West Indian Law held under the joint auspices of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law and the Interim Commission for the West Indies, British Guiana and British Honduras in September, 1962, encouraged the organizers to repeat the experiment. As a result, a further conference on "The Administration of Law in the West Indies" was arranged by the British Institute in association with the High Commissioners and Representatives for Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, the Eastern Caribbean, British Guiana and British Honduras, and held during the week-end 11th-14th September, 1964, at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, Berkshire, which was made available by the Trustees of St. Catherine's Trust.

The conference, like that on Nigerian Law, a note of which appeared in the July, 1964, number of this Journal, was organized to enable practitioners, students and others interested in the laws of a particular part of the Commonwealth to meet in informal and attractive surroundings for the purpose of discussing the legal developments which have taken place in their own territories. Representatives of the Bench and Bar and the Universities of the overseas territories and of the United Kingdom attend, but the conferences are held mainly for the benefit of the students of the territories concerned who are studying in this country, whether they are Bar students or university students, graduate or post-graduate. On this occasion the programme of speakers and of their subjects was arranged by Mr. K. W. Patchett, Lecturer in Law at Sheffield University, and Mr. N. J. O. Liverpool, Research Assistant in the Faculty of Law at Sheffield University, both of whom are experienced in the field of West Indian Law.

The conference was opened on Friday the 11th, by the Hon. Sir Hugh Wooding, Chief Justice of Trinidad and Tobago. He was introduced by Mr. H. H. Marshall, Q.C., Assistant Director (Commonwealth Law) of the British Institute and gave a short introductory speech. This was followed by a lecture by Mr. Patchett on "The Judicial Systems of the West Indies", the Chairman at this session being Mr. H. H. Marshall.

On the second day the first address was given by the Hon. Mr. Justice Aubrey Fraser, a judge of the Supreme Court of Trinidad and Tobago, on "Civil Law and its Administration", the Chairman being the Hon. Mr. Justice Hyatari, a judge of the Supreme Court of Trinidad and Tobago. After a short interval for tea, Mr. J. S. Kerr, Acting Legal and Passport Officer, Jamaica High Commission, addressed the gathering on "Criminal Law and its Administration", the Chairman being Mr. W. A. Bruno, Acting Senior Crown

Counsel, Trinidad and Tobago. After lunch most of those attending the conference set out on a sight-seeing trip by motor-coach to Windsor, during which the Castle, the Chapel and Eton College were among the buildings visited. On their return tea was served at Cumberland Lodge and Mr. Liverpool gave his lecture on "The Legal Profession", the Chair being taken by Professor O. R. Marshall, of Sheffield University and Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Ife, Nigeria. After dinner, Mr. Frank Foster, Director of After-Care Borstal Boys, England, contributed his lecture on "The Penal Systems", with Mr. Patchett in the Chair.

The morning of Sunday, 13th September, was left free to enable visitors to attend religious services, and at 3 p.m. Professor O. R. Marshall gave a lecture on "Legal Education", the Chairman on this occasion being the Hon. Mr. Justice Aubrey Fraser.

All meetings had, up to this time, been held in the drawing room, but the weather being warm and pleasant, it was decided to hold the Discussion Session at 5 p.m. on the lawn at the rear of the house. This was conducted by Professor O. R. Marshall under the Chairmanship of Mr. Patchett, and there was a general discussion on all the lectures delivered at the conference.

Among those present at the conference, in addition to the visitors referred to above, were Mr. G. Bryan, Officer in Charge, Office of the Government of British Guiana; Mr. P. J. Husbands representing the Commission for the Eastern Caribbean; Mr. B. E. King, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge; Mr. V. C. McIntyre, Acting Counsellor, High Commission for Trinidad and Tobago; Mr. E. K. Roopnarine, Senior Crown Counsel, Trinidad and Tobago; Mr. B. Misra, Research Assistant at the British Institute and 35 West Indian students who came from the following territories: Antigua (2); Barbados (2); British Guiana (11); British Honduras (2); Grenada (1); Jamaica (8); St. Kitts (1); and Trinidad and Tobago (8).

As on previous occasions, the conference was regarded as something of a social as well as an academic event, and it was with great pleasure that the organizers welcomed the wives of several of the senior guests.

The next conference in the series organized by the British Institute has been provisionally fixed to take place at Cumberland Lodge during the weekend 30th April to 3rd May, 1965, when some aspects of the law in East Africa are expected to be discussed.

Book Reviews

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA: Report on a Seminar on Central Services to Local Authorities, held at Zaria, Northern Nigeria, 29 June–10 July, 1964. (*United Nations Economic and Social Council*).

A Report on "Central Services to Local Authorities" does not arouse expectations of anything more exciting than a summary of experience on how to improve established administrative practices. But this title does not do justice to the Report's contents, which offer a basis for clearer and less prejudiced thinking about local government in Africa than has been possible in the last decade. The title was in fact inherited from a study carried out by the International Union of Local Authorities on behalf of the United Nations and used also as the title of a corresponding UN Seminar for the Eastern Region[1], but the Division of Public Administration at the ECA in Addis Ababa took the opportunity to enlarge a potentially restricted subject in to a review of contemporary trends which cannot properly be contained in a brief title. The Report really deals with three questions – What have we been doing in the last ten years? Where are we now? Where do we go from here? The theme of 'central services' is skilfully woven into every chapter, but what we are actually considering is an essay on fundamentals which is badly needed at the present time, and especially in the 'Anglophon' countries of Africa.

The recent death of Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones reminds those who knew him of the road that has been travelled in the last eighteen years. It was under his administration, and in a large measure through his initiative, that "efficient and representative local government" began to replace "native administration" throughout British Africa. Creech-Jones saw the African scene through the eyes of a man bred in the tradition of British working-class democracy. To him the hall-mark of a developed country was the participation of its citizens in public affairs. He saw local government, as indeed he saw his other African plans for strengthening trade unions and co-operatives, primarily as a form of adult education, a subject to which he had devoted a large part of his life. He addressed himself to these matters with the urgency of one who suspected that political independence was coming, more quickly than was generally supposed, to people largely unfitted to inherit it. The result was the introduction into a simple authoritarian situation of an over-sophisticated form of local administration, for the pressures of the time gave no opportunity for a calm and detached study of local government *principles*, or even of comparative methods; so that despite his own warnings against merely copying another system, British concepts of local government were imported into Africa in a hurry. Africans for their part welcomed them, and indeed were more insistent than their British mentors on importing no other. (The Report makes an odd slip in implying – paragraph 9 – that these concepts were inherited from earlier colonial days; nothing remotely like British local government existed then; it was a post-war importation).

But adult education, as a primary object of local government, has not survived political independence, and the Zaria Seminar in 1964 accepted without question the words of the Executive Secretary of the ECA in his

[1] Held at New Delhi, October-November, 1963.

opening message, namely that "better than anything else an intelligent policy of decentralization will serve purposes which Africa's political leaders generally regard as most essential, namely, *political unity and economic development*." So far as local government was concerned Creech-Jones was not thinking primarily of either.

Accordingly post-war local government in the English-speaking countries has had to make more adjustments than the French, whose system of colonial administration was originally more in line with that of the metropolitan country and later with the realities of Africa. The British concept, imported too late if it was to be imported at all, laid too much responsibility upon unprepared and often self-seeking councillors and was designed (statutorally) to provide and maintain hypothetical services rather than to create the local conditions which would make such provision meaningful. It was also thought of, naively, as an a-political subject. Often it was grafted on to colonial native authorities which were too small.

Although, especially in parts of West Africa, it has had to struggle to get out of a morass of its own making, its achievements must not be underrated; councillors have often been disappointing, but some have not, and thousands have learnt a great deal about the intractable problems of self-government; budgets have often been pitifully small, yet the total sum of public money raised and spent by local councils has been impressive. Nevertheless there is at present widespread frustration and questioning and the guides which this Report give are abundantly welcome.

The first three chapters are possibly the most valuable. They bring together, and compare, the contemporary manifestations of the British and French traditions in African local government, discuss the alternatives which exist within the more fluid British tradition and summarize the various central influences – ministries, commissions, boards, associations and voluntary organizations – which play upon the circumference. It becomes manifest, by implication, that the British and their colonial subjects set themselves greater problems than the French. British flexibility has its virtues, but when allied to the conventions, subtleties and attitudes which alone cause British institutions to work it imposes some hard re-thinking on the beneficiaries when they become self-governing. In later chapters similar phrases recur; e.g. "This difficulty does not arise in the French-speaking countries . . ." These first chapters are concise, tautly written and eminently quotable, so much so that a reviewer does well to steer clear of quotations altogether, or he would find it difficult to stop. Since they represent an agreed statement by a widely representative Seminar, French and English-speaking, they should enable us for many years to dispense with further definition and argument about local government; for this part of the Report, read in conjunction with two later chapters on Finance and Personnel and Training, could well provide an agenda for future seminars or conferences whose keynote would be the implementation rather than the definition of objectives.

The twin themes of economic development and national unity – as the purposes of local government – run through all chapters of the Report, and the first is emphasized at some length in the Summary of Recommendations. The planning stage of development, however, is the one subject on which the Report is vague and unsatisfactory. In other chapters contemporary difficulties are crisply identified and realistically faced; the one on Planning seems to avoid a central difficulty, namely that over large areas of Africa local authorities are

too insignificant in population and resources either to contribute to, or to be incorporated in, a National Development Plan at the implied level. "They must first of all concentrate on improving their own administrative organization, particularly by attention to proper staffing and to an equitable method of local taxation." Excellent in relation to some of the authorities of Kenya, Uganda or Northern Nigeria, but surely platitudinous and unhelpful to those local authorities whose "staff" comprises a works foreman and a gang of daily-paid labourers and whose "administrative organization" is a secretary-treasurer doing his own office chores. In some cases their staffs are almost wholly administrative, which means that their purpose is simply to exist. The Report is silent on how such authorities are to combine, so that they can employ the staff on whom development depends. Perhaps it is assumed that their function will merely be, through their powers of taxation, to maintain the projects initiated by local community development; this is indeed hinted at in an earlier chapter, which continues the long debate about the relationship of the two. (It is almost impossible to say anything new on this subject, but a chapter on Community Development says it admirably). It is hinted at also in the following paragraph of the chapter on Planning:

> "Successful participation by the people in simple development projects will encourage them to participate in more complicated projects later. The only other means of rapid development is coercion. Local government is strategically well placed to promote the one and prevent the other, but it is not yet a so obviously successful means of local administration that it will necessarily be preserved everywhere for its inherent merit. It could easily be dislodged in favour of coercion if it were seen to make no effective contribution either to the formulation or execution of the development plan" (Para 89).

It is a pity that the important subject of coercion is raised, only to be dropped without discussion, for if "rapid" development really occupies the predominant place which the Report accords it coercion, in some degree or other, is something that has to be considered objectively. It is of course easy enough to say that it is illiberal and therefore should not be discussed. In fact, as is well known, many successful development projects had their origin in emergency measures which compelled people to do what patient education – especially agricultural and veterinary education – had failed to persuade them to do; having been made to act in their own material interest they discovered the advantages and continued voluntarily in their new ways. If democracy in the western sense is assumed this is usually only acceptable in an overriding emergency, but the question of what constitutes an "emergency" is sometimes burked; and in the context of illiteracy and gross poverty it is unlikely that measures which must wait upon popular consent will bring about a 'rapid' advance. These reflections arise not from a leaning towards authoritarianism, but from a fear, firstly that liberal sentiments are sometimes used to cloak an abdication of responsibility (for African governments do not object to coercion *per se*); and secondly that we may be led into the fool's paradise of thinking that *rapid* progress can be made without suffering and without ruthlessness, a proposition for which there is little historical support, especially from countries which have lifted themselves up by their own bootstraps in this century. Progress by personal example and persuasion is preferable, if the pace and scale are accepted. The Report seems not to accept them.

Specifically, and to revert to the problem of the small and ineffective

authority, progress in development may best be achieved by concentrating on the areas of high potential. If local authorities could be told that, were they to combine into viable units for the purpose of development, they would receive central government help, but that if they chose not to do so nobody would worry them and they could develop at their own pace, it would involve them in immediate hardship but there would be greater national progress, from which all would benefit in the long run. There is nothing particularly ruthless in saying "You can't have it both ways; choose which you prefer."

It is a recurring theme that local government in Africa must now finally break away from its inherited foreign elements and devise systems suited to the 'development requirements' of African countries. It is perhaps the Report's most obvious omission that this broad general precept is not made more specific, and this being so it seems unconstructive that in the final chapter technical experts should be told, negatively, to 'avoid excessive reliance on the forms and conceptions of any particular foreign system' without being given any positive guidance on the forms and conceptions which *are* acceptable.

In the context of national unity and politics the Report is more precise – indeed it is trenchant and outspoken. In the political situation of the 'sixties the British concept of public service impartiality is increasingly irrelevant, and the Report looks for a substitute to political neutrality as the sheet anchor of the local government official; this it finds in an unassailable *professionalism* which will allow him sufficient freedom of political expression combined with a security assured by his expertise; and this leads on to higher standards of professional training.

The Report does not go on to discuss a reduction in the powers of councillors, or of their responsibility for implementing their own decisions, nor does it specifically mention 'managerial' systems. None the less there is a clear implication that the councillor-official relationship cannot be left to the mercy of tolerant and sophisticated conventions, and that the official must become more firmly established as the indispensible professional.

It is supposed that international seminars make recommendations for further discussion so that they may become self-perpetuating and provide a regular holiday abroad for their participants. Whether or not one accepts this cynical assessment must depend on the exact nature of the recommendations. These have the virtues of immediacy and precision. They suggest that the years of talking in an abstract vein are largely over, and offer a future agenda concerned with practical improvements. They proposed eight points for the further consideration of the Economic Commission for Africa and other United Nations bodies, few of which break new ground but all of which have a strictly contemporary ring. The first five, in paraphrase, are the orientation of training syllabuses to development, new sources of local revenue, local agricultural and industrial promotion, the urban-rural administrative problem and the sort of internal administration which can be geared to a development plan. The sixth is a little more unusual and refers to a topic which caught the attention of the Seminar from time to time – that of nomadic populations. The seventh is more familiar, and in view of the oddly partisan attitudes on the subject may be less fruitful – or more self-perpetuating; it concerns an attempt to clinch the local government-community development relationship at the grass-roots of a Plan. The last is undramatic, important and overdue; it concerns the registration of births, deaths and marriages, the absence of which has long been felt and is now becoming an urgent administrative problem as new nations acquire

citizenship laws and Africans move more freely over the continent and the world.

Not very long ago the word 'seminar' was unfamiliar in British usage, and already its meaning has become so diffuse that it is used indiscriminately of a public conference, a university class or an academic chat. Presumably it was once supposed to mean an occasion when seeds (of ideas) were fertilized, by expert knowledge and after careful preparation. If so this Zaria Seminar earns the title more than many. These seeds have been lying about Africa for a good many years, but at Zaria they were fertilized by the meticulous preparation of the ECA at Addis Ababa and cross-fertilized at Zaria by the confluence of the British and French traditions. The result is one of the most readable and rewarding reports on local administration in contemporary Africa.

R. WRAITH.

AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING: REPORT OF THE 1963 CAMBRIDGE CONFERENCE, edited by Ronald Robinson. *Whitefriars Press, London; and obtainable from the Secretary, Old Schools, Cambridge,* 1964; pp. 148; 10s. or $1.40.

The methods and, indeed, the principles of aid to under-developed countries are coming increasingly under fresh scrutiny. There is nothing in this to regret. It is certain that there will be no relaxation in the desire of people of all parties to help mitigate hunger, ignorance and disease in the poor countries. The success in this country of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign is but one proof of this. Such good purposes will be served, not hindered by submitting to study the techniques of aid-giving. The report of the Cambridge University Overseas Studies Committee of their last year's conference on African Development Planning will therefore be read with special interest at the present time. The Conference was attended, as in other years, by a large group of informed people – Academics, Ministers, Administrators – from this country and from the African countries, together with distinguished guests from other European countries. Its deliberations were given direction by a series of challenging papers contributed by leading experts, all of which are published with the report. The report itself, admirably summarized and edited by Dr. Ronald Robinson, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and chairman of the Conference, is an important record of the agreements and sometimes disagreements on many of the problems of development of an international group whose opinions are informed and must be heard. A principal conclusion of the Conference, if it is fair to look for a conclusion from a gathering whose purpose was discussion rather than decision, was, in Dr. Robinson's words, that "In the next phase perhaps the emphasis (of overseas aid) has to be shifted from the infrastructure to the economy. Without neglecting profitable opportunities for industrialization, the main chance seems to lie in exploiting the enormous potential of African peasant farmers for improved food and cash crop production, and in using primary education as a means to that end."

It would be wrong to suggest that views such as these went unchallenged. That the most hopeful course might be to expand agricultural production and prepare for a transition to industrialization at a later stage by building up industries processing agricultural products was, as Dr. Robinson reports, a bitter pill for speakers from Africa, many of whom saw little hope of solving their problems through agriculture and were eager for swift industrialization.

There is here an issue of major importance. To win acceptance for the right answer is likely to be a severe test of statesmanship and the agreement to study the possibilities of industrialization more closely at this year's conference was therefore a happy decision.

Other controversial questions there were in plenty: how the expansion of primary education can be geared to the needs of the economy; how the need to invest in the infrastructure can be balanced with the need for productive investment (or, as someone said, how to solve the problem of the chicken and the egg); how to reconcile the give and the take in overseas aid, the hopes and purposes of the givers with the fears and needs of the takers; these and many more were the stuff of the Conference.

At the end of the day what has been accomplished? How much practical help have the visitors from Africa been able to take home? What new encouragement have administrators and academics in this country received? Much I believe, but it is true that, without Dr. Robinson's skilled summing up in the published report, some of the participants might be excused if they found difficulty in weaving into a pattern the arguments and counter-arguments, though they will certainly have gained new insight into the complexity of the problems of overseas aid and the direction which informed thinking about them is taking. There can be no doubt of the great value of these annual conferences in bringing together the people concerned in these problems in both developed and developing countries. As a measure of immediate practical aid, the sooner that reports such as this can be published the better and the more widely they are read the greater will have been the service to the countries in need.

A. RUCKER.

GOVERNMENT IN RURAL INDIA, by David C. Potter. *Bell & Sons Ltd., London*, 1964; pp. 88; 21s.

The preface starts "The title of this book and its slim dimensions are an indication of its purpose; to present a concise description of contemporary district administration in rural India". Than this there can be no better summing up by any reviewer and generally speaking it succeeds in its purpose.

The book commences with a note on the origins of the district system which goes a little farther back than the average introductions, which tend to start either with the British rule or the Moguls. There follows a description of districts – numbers, types and dimensions, the framework of administration, its purposes with particular reference to law, order, land revenue and general administration. Next there are two more lengthy chapters on community development and *Panchayati Raj* and finally a brief chapter on the collector, his selection, his training and his duties. A number of appendices provide statistical information regarding the administrative units in Rajasthan, panchayat and community development coverage and the schematic budgets for their blocks, and a breakdown of the distribution of the Indian Administrative Service by states. There is also a useful bibliography.

Rajasthan is treated in more detail in various parts of the book, as the author and his wife lived in one of its villages for nearly a year. As a result his chapter on *Panchayati Raj* comes to life. His style is attractive and one can but hope that he will find time to give us more information about life in an Indian village in another book.

One word of warning is necessary – this is a description of what should be, not what is. It is the system, but not its actual working. To have attempted the latter would require a much wider range of studies carried out by a team of research workers, and inevitably a volume of considerable size. The reader who does not know India may get the impression that this is what actually happens, whereas that must depend on the way the administrators and the politicians work the system.

This is going to be a valuable addition to the existing literature as nowhere is there so clear an account of the structure and aims of contemporary administration in rural India. The country itself lacks similar analysis in almost every field, as the studies now being carried out by the Institute of Public Administration (New York) operating in Calcutta, reveal. The complexity of the administrative organization in that metropolitan area is only now being plotted and this has revealed that many of the officers interviewed were hard put to describe their duties accurately or, alternatively, were suffering from misapprehensions about what they should be doing. Any work of this nature is going to serve a useful purpose, both in India for the practitioners and abroad for those who wish to get a rapid picture of the administrative framework.

H. MADDICK.

BALLOT BOX AND BAYONET, by Hugh Tinker (Chatham House Essays). *O.U.P.*, 1964; pp. 126; 8s. 6d.

Critical of the inadequacies of others who have written of the "People and Government in Emergent Asian Countries" (the sub-title to this book), Professor Tinker has produced his own diagnosis of the political situations in the countries of South and South-East Asia. He has brought to this complex scene the skills of the historian, backed by years of personal acquaintance with politicians and people in this area. To many the previous descriptions of individual countries have been, as to this author, unsatisfying. For him the sociologist explaining situations in terms of masses and elites, the institutionalists with formal charts of government organizations (not unlike electric circuit diagrams), the political behaviourists with their league tables of democratic independence, are each inadequate.

Hugh Tinker expresses his norm by reference to Isaiah XXXII; 8: "But the liberal deviseth liberal things and by liberal things shall he stand". The deviations from this ideal – personal rule, army rule, demagoguery – he explains in a variety of approaches. First the problem of securing consensus in societies which are almost always local and often communal in the focus of their interests. The independence movements produced consensus which to the political leaders gave a comfortable, almost cosy feeling of support based on unity. These leaders enjoyed their own personal power and when independence came, were anxious to retain this. Indeed, to what political group could it be handed over? In many countries there was no national political development depending on *widespread* adherence to a national party or parties. Some, like Nehru, used their personal power with wisdom and honesty, through a party like Congress – others did not. They and their parasites brought government into disrepute, not just by seeking personal gain but by corruption and nepotism which was blatant and reduced the efficiency of administration. Other independent governments were affected by schismatic groups based on local area

interests or upon religion or economic class. Countries have met this situation differently – the Philippines and Malaya by democratic government; Pakistan and Burma by army rule; other places by a mixture of personal rule and army power; or by invoking a strong religious support.

In all countries the emphasis is on consensus, the manifestation of which lies between the two poles – the morality of non-violence and the mystique of violence – Sarvodaya and Sukarnoism. Yet perhaps it is encouraging to find a growth of what the author describes as "audience sensitivity" – a feeling by all leaders of the need to legitimize their actions by associating the people with these. Basic democracies are of this pattern and other signs of this are identified.

A review cannot do full justice to this thought-provoking, tightly-packed book. It tries to describe the anatomy of the struggle for independence, aspects of nationalism, the fortune of democratic institutions, political leadership and the sources of its strength and weakness, "including that basic factor, the mob" and the governments and the people – and all these for most of South and South-East Asia. Running through the historian's descriptive analysis of the events of the last twenty years, there is a plea for Western political scientists to distinguish between "the attributes of democracy which are essential and universal and those applications of the democratic idea which are merely peculiar to the West". It is inadequate to try to assess the democratic characters of these new states in terms of the functioning of a two-party system or of Western institutions. In the countries he knows best, Professor Tinker has discovered a faith in the rule of law through the high courts and would include with this the rights of free speech and free association as his essentials for democracy. By these the working of the recently created states should be judged, and in urging this approach he will be widely supported.

H. MADDICK.

CHANGING LAW IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, edited by J. N. D. Anderson. *George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London*, 1964; pp. 292; 35s.

The fourteen chapters of this book reproduce a series of lectures given in the University of London during the academic year 1961-62 and also include two other papers prepared afterwards.

Sir Kenneth Roberts-Wray, former Legal Adviser to the Colonial Office and Commonwealth Relations Office, has made three contributions. The first, entitled "The Authority of the United Kingdom in Dependent Territories" deals with the forms and processes of control and supervision exercised by the Government of the United Kingdom in such territories including the legislative and executive power of the Crown under the Prerogative and under special statutes and the legislative power of Parliament. The second is entitled "The Legal Machinery for the Transition from Dependence to Independence" and deals with the method whereby the United Kingdom has, usually by gradual stages, granted self-government to the newly independent states of the Commonwealth, with details of the principles which have been observed. Sir Kenneth's third paper deals with "The Independence of the Judiciary in Commonwealth Countries" including both the older Dominions and the newer States. Mr. J. C. McPetrie, Sir Kenneth's successor at the Colonial Office has written a paper consisting of a "Survey of Constitutions Drafted at the Colonial Office since 1944", which can be read as a practical and factual sequel to the second

of Sir Kenneth's articles. These four chapters contain valuable but little-known information drawn from the experience of experts in their own field.

The comprehensive and illuminating chapter on "Fundamental Rights" is by Professor Gledhill. He ranges widely over the subject from Magna Carta through the U.N. Declaration to the Rome Convention and from the American Declaration of Independence through the French Rights of Man to the American-made Japanese Constitution of 1946. A more specialized paper by Sir Orby Mootham deals with "Constitutional Writs in India" and shows how the constitutional rights of the subject, fundamental and otherwise, are protected in that country.

Changes in the Islamic world are considered by Mr. N. J. Coulson who gives us "Family Law: Progress in Pakistan", and by Professor Anderson, Director of the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, who writes of "Islamic Law in Africa: Problems of Today and Tomorrow", in which he deals (inter alia) with conflicts of laws in Libya and the recent reforms in Northern Nigeria and East Africa. Other contributions relating to Africa are Dr. A. N. Allott's "Legal Development and Economic Growth in Africa", Sir Sydney Littlewood's reflections on "The Legal Profession in African Territories" and the late Dr. R. Y. Hedges' "Liability under the Nigeria Criminal Code: A Historical and Comparative Study" in which he contrasts the different principles applied to factors such as mental disease and intoxication in relation to crime in Nigeria and the United Kingdom. Mr. J. S. Read considers "Women's Status and Law Reform" with special reference to the position in Africa in a lively and informative way.

Mr. H. McAleavy's subject, "Chinese Law in Hong Kong: The Choice of Sources" deals with one or two topics only in a rather specialized fashion. Dr. J. Duncan M. Derrett contributed an erudite and much needed chapter on "Justice, Equity and Good Conscience" a principle which the lawyers of the Empire and Commonwealth have for centuries been enjoined to apply without ever having been told what it means. The book as a whole has been edited by Professor Anderson who contributes a foreword.

The number and diversity of the contributors and the variety of their subjects have necessarily resulted in a certain unevenness of treatment. The topics dealt with are undoubtedly of practical and academic interest, but not all of equal importance. Nevertheless this account of legal developments in the many emergent countries surveyed will be of great value to those whose task it is to study or administer the diverse legal systems of the new Commonwealth.

H. H. MARSHALL.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

OPERATIONAL RESEARCH IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT, by R. A. Ward. *George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, published by the Royal Institute of Public Administration*, 1964; pp. 96; 12s. 6d.

Operational research became a recognized technique for improving efficiency in the armed forces during World War II. It has since been applied with effect in private and nationalized industries in Britain. This small book gives the findings of a study group of the R.I.P.A. on its application in local government. A useful book to all local authorities who seek to modernize their organization and machinery and to improve their efficiency.

OMBUDSMAN, by G. Sawyer. *Melbourne University Press and Cambridge University Press*, 1964; pp. 42; 5s. 6d.

This short paperback explains in what ways the democratic process and the law are between them sometimes inadequate to deal with certain types of grievance of citizens against the government. The Ombudsman is the device adopted by a small but increasing number of democratic countries to give protection to the citizen against injustice by his government. This book describes how this device is applied in various countries with some detail of practice in New Zealand and Australia.

A LEGAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, Vol. 7, Second Edition, compiled by Leslie F. Maxwell. *Sweet and Maxwell*, 1964; pp. 460; £4 4s.

This new edition covers publications under six geographical groups: Africa, The Middle East, Asia, Central and S. America and the S. Atlantic, Europe, and the Western Mediterranean. An essential reference book for law scholars and law libraries.

THE INDUSTRIAL POTENTIALITIES OF NORTHERN NIGERIA, compiled by the Ministry of Trade and Industry, Kaduna. *Obtainable from Kaduna or from Nigeria House, Northumberland Avenue, London*, 1964; pp. 284.

This well-published book gives a very full factual survey of all aspects of the industrial potential of Northern Nigeria. The book is arranged in five parts: The Nigerian Economy; Industries based on local raw materials; Industries based on imported raw materials; general administrative factors; Public Services. Prospective industrial and financial investors will find it a mine of useful information.

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION, by H. Oldman. *University of Leeds Institute of Education, Paper No.* 2, 1964; pp. 46; 3s.

A report on a four-week study tour of educational television facilities in the United States. This detailed survey of the various educational television services examined by the author includes his deductions as to the lessons to be learned and recommendations on possible future developments in this field in the United Kingdom.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN POPULATION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA: SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES, by George Kay. *The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Communication No.* 28; 1964; pp. 30; 3s. 6d.

A factual survey of the general distribution of the African population in Southern Rhodesia supported by statistics and maps. The survey brings out the way in which the dualism of society in Southern Rhodesia, together with the pattern of land apportionment and the distribution of the money and indigenous economies, have exerted a major influence on the distribution of population.

GEOGRAPHERS AND THE TROPICS: LIVERPOOL ESSAYS, edited by R. W. Steel and R. M. Prothero. *Longmans;* pp. 374; 47s. 6d.

The essays in this volume represent the range of geographers' interests in tropical lands and include a survey of the contribution of geographers to the tropics, together with essays on landform evolution, rainfall analysis, settlement history, land use patterns, population mobility and the links between the City and Port of Liverpool and the tropics.

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